THE NOVEL OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRATIC IDEAS IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL

BY

ALICE JOUVEAU DUBREUIL

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1922

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FOREWORD

To Dr. Arthur H. Quinn I am indebted for the suggestion of the subject and the inspiration of the plan of this dissertation; to Dr. James W. Bright and Dr. John C. French for their criticism; and to Dr. Bright, also, for any thoroughness of training this work may evince.

A. J. D.

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1. *Modern Chivalry,* 1792-1805. By Hugh Brackenridge (1748-1816).
2. *Innocents Abroad,* 1869. By Samuel Clemens (1835-1910).
3. *The Prince and the Pauper,* 1882. By Samuel Clemens (1835-1910).
4. *The Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court,* 1889. By Samuel Clemens (1835-1910).
5. *A Traveller from Altruria,* 1894. By Wm. Dean Howells (1837-1920).
6. *Through the Eye of a Needle,* 1907. By Wm. Dean Howells (1837-1920).

II. SOCIAL.

1. *The House of the Seven Gables,* 1851. By Nathaniel Hawthorne, (1804-1864).
2. *The Hoosier School-Master,* 1871. By Edward Eggleston (1837-1902).
3. *The Rise of Silas Lapham,* 1885. By Wm. Dean Howells (1837-1920).
4. *The Voice of the People,* 1900. By Ellen Glasgow (1874-).
5. *The House of Mirth,* 1905. By Edith Wharton (1862-).
6. *Babbitt,* 1922. By Sinclair Lewis (1885-).
7. *Certain People of Importance,* 1922. By Kathleen Norris (1880-).

III. POLITICAL.

1. *The Honorable Peter Stirling,* 1894. By Paul Leicester Ford (1865-1902).
2. *John Marvel, Assistant,* 1909. By Thomas Nelson Page (1853-1922).

IV. ECONOMIC.

1. *The Silent Partner,* 1871. By Elizabeth S. Phelps Ward (1844-1911).
2. *Nicholas Minturn,* 1876. By J. G. Holland (1819-1881).

3. *The Octopus,*[1] 1901. By Frank Norris (1870-1902).
4. *The Pit,*[1] 1903. By Frank Norris (1870-1902).
5. *The Man of the Hour,* 1905. By Alice French (1850-). Octave Thanet, *pseud.*
6. *A Certain Rich Man,* 1909. By William A. White (1868-).
7. *The Rules of the Game,* 1910. By Stewart Edward White (1873-).
8. *V. V.'s Eyes,* 1913. By Henry Sydnor Harrison (1880-).
9. *King Coal,* 1917. By Upton Sinclair (1878-).
10. *The Desert of Wheat,* 1919. By Zane Grey (1872-).

V. FEMINIST.

1. *The Female American,* 1814. Compiled by Herself—Unca Eliza Winkfield (?)
2. *True Womanhood,* 1857. By John Neal (1793-1876).
3. *Dr. Breen's Practice,* 1881. By Wm. Dean Howells (1837-1920).
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5. *Hagar,* 1913. By Mary Johnston (1870-).
6. *Virginia,* 1913. By Ellen Glasgow (1874-).

VI. IMMIGRANT.

1. *The Jungle,* 1906. By Upton Sinclair (1878-).
2. *Comrade Yetta,* 1913. By Arthur Bullard (1879-). Albert Edwards, *pseud.*
3. *The Rise of David Levinsky,* 1917. By Abraham Cahan (1860-).

VII. SOCIALIST.

1. *Looking Backward,* 1888. By Edward Bellamy (1850-1898).
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3. *The Iron Heel,* 1907. By Jack London (1876-1916).
4. *Comrades,* 1909. By Thomas Dixon (1864-).
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Prisoners of Hope, 1898. By Mary Johnston (1870-).
The Cavaliers of Virginia, 1835. By Wm. A. Caruthers (1800-1846).

MASSACHUSETTS.

Standish of Standish, 1889. By Jane Austin (1831-1894).
The Coast of Freedom, 1902. By Adele Marie Shaw and Albert J. Shaw.
Mistress Content Craddock, 1899. By Annie E. Trumbull (1857-).

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[1] Included in Dr. Baker's *Guide to Historical Fiction,* but not in Mr. Nield's.

NEW YORK.

The Buccaneers, 1827. By Sam. Ben. H. Judah (1799-1860(?)).
Barnaby Lee, 1902. By John Bennett (1865-).

MARYLAND.

Mistress Brent, 1901. By Lucy M. Thruston (1862-).
Rob of the Bowl, 1838. By John P. Kennedy (1795-1870).

CONNECTICUT.

The Romance of the Charter Oak, 1871. By William Seton (1835-1905).

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The Rebels, 1825. By Lydia Maria Child (1802-1880).
The Refugee, 1825. By Captain Matthew Murgatroyd, of the Ninth Continentals in the Revolutionary War.
The Green Mountain Boys,[3] 1839. By Daniel P. Thompson (1795-1868).
The Linwoods, 1835. By Catherine Maria Sedgwick (1789-1867).
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The Patience of John Morland, 1909. By Mary Dillon.
The Bravo, 1831. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851).
The Headsman, 1833. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851).
Hope Leslie, 1827. By Catherine M. Sedgwick (1789-1867).
The Yemassee, 1835. By Wm. Gilmore Simms (1806-1870).
The Deerslayer, 1841. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1857).
The Last of the Mohicans, 1826. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851).

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[2] Not in Baker or Nield.

[3] Given as 1840 in *Cambridge American Literature,* I, p. 310. The correct date, 1839, as in *The American Novel* (p. 58), by Carl Van Doren, is verified by the edition in Library of Congress.

[4] Erroneously given as 1870 in *Cambridge American Literature,* I, p. 309.

The Pathfinder, 1840. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851).
The Pioneers, 1823. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851).
The Prairie, 1827. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851).
Nick of the Woods, 1837. By Robert Montgomery Bird (1803-1854).
Ramona, 1884. By Helen Hunt Jackson (1831-1885).
Satanstoe, 1845. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851).
The Chainbearer, 1846. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851).
The Redskins, 1846. By James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851).
The House of the Seven Gables, 1851. By Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864).
The Blithedale Romance, 1852. By Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864).
Gold, 1913. By Stewart Edward White (1873-).
The Gray Dawn, 1915. By Stewart Edward White (1873-).
The Rose Dawn, 1920. By Stewart Edward White (1873-).

THE NOVEL OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

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CHAPTER I

NOVEL OF DEMOCRACY AS A GENRE

To establish the novel of democracy as a *genre* and to show, by a single series of illustrations arranged chronologically according to the sequence of action—not according to the date of publication — how the progress of democratic ideas in America is reflected in that *genre* are the two purposes of this study.

A novel of democracy, as I have defined it, is a novel in which is expressed the spirit that has made possible our gradual development toward religious freedom and political, economic, and social equality of opportunity. Closely related to the historical novel, the novel of democracy will, doubtless, be subject to as many definitions.[1] I have had in mind only the definition given above.

While many of the novels of democracy are to be found in the lists of historical fiction—and I have used such lists freely, particularly, Jonathan Nield's *Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales* (1911),[2] Ernest A. Baker's *Guide to His-*

[1] See *Le Roman Historique Americain* par Violette E. Scharff. Lausanne: Charles Guex, 1905; and *The Historical Novel and Other Essays* by Brander Matthews. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901.

[2] *Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales* by Jonathan Nield. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911.

torical Fiction (1914),[3] and James R. Kaye's *Historical Fiction* (1920)[4]—some of the best historical novels, such as *The Spy* and *Hugh Wynne,* are not novels of democracy. Though in these works events are chronicled accurately and conditions are vividly portrayed, the spirit of protest and reform which animated those times is not sufficiently evident to characterize such works as novels of democracy. They are much better novels, no doubt, because there is in them not much exposition of contemporary feeling and thought. On the other hand, such novels as *Nicholas Minturn,* by J. G. Holland, and *The Honorable Peter Stirling,* by Paul Leicester Ford, which are not listed as historical novels, are novels of democracy, because they portray, respectively, an economic and a political stage of development. Again, as with the historical novel,[5] there will be a difference of opinion as to the significance of the novel of democracy, once its *genre* is established. I am concerned here, however, only with establishing that *genre,* not with evaluating it.

Of the forty-three novels of democracy, discussed in the next three chapters of this study in a series arranged so as to show the progress of democratic ideas in America to the time of the States-Rights and Slavery questions, forty-one should be classified as historical novels[6] also, only *Modern Chivalry* and *The House of the Seven Gables* being excluded. This proportion of historical novels among the novels of democracy is, however, almost inverted after the Civil War Period, in the latter half of the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century.

Six of these forty-one historical novels of democracy may be

[3] *Guide to Historical Fiction* by Ernest A. Baker. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914.

[4] *Historical Fiction, Chronologically and Historically Related* by James R. Kaye. Chicago: Snowden Publishing Co., 1920.

[5] See the excellent bibliography on that subject, pp. 167-174, Nield's *Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales.*

[6] There may be a difference of opinion as to Stewart Edward White's trilogy—*Gold, The Gray Dawn* and *The Rose Dawn.*

considered as particularly representative of their *genre,* though others, perhaps, are equally so. These are: Cooper's *Littlepage Series* on the Anti-Rent Laws, *Satanstoe* (1845), *The Chainbearer* (1846), and *The Redskins* (1846); *A Herald of the West* (1898), by Joseph A. Altsheler, reflecting the spirit just before and during the War of 1812; *The Patience of John Morland* (1909), by Mary Dillon, permeated with the democratic atmosphere of the West and the ideals of "Old Hickory" during that general's administration; and *The Gray Dawn* (1915), by Stewart Edward White, tense with the martial law of the Vigilantes in the San Francisco of 1852.

The merit of Cooper's *Littlepage Series,* despite or because of Cooper's inherited prejudices and interests in the matter, in giving us a true understanding of the feelings and motives behind the Anti-Rent Legislation, would seem to indicate that Brander Matthews's statement, "The really trustworthy historical novels are those which were a-writing while the history was a-making," [7] might be applied to novels of democracy also. But the other three novels—*A Herald of the West, The Patience of John Morland,* and *The Gray Dawn*—contradict that dictum, for their authors were not born till at least twenty years after the events they related. Half a century had elapsed after the War of 1812 before the man who was to revitalize that period, Joseph A. Altsheler, was born. Moreover, in a little pamphlet, entitled *Joseph A. Altsheler and American History,* written by Annie Carroll Moore, and published in 1919, after the death of Joseph Altsheler, there is an illuminating paragraph:

"It was no surprise to Mr. Altsheler to be told that his books about the war in Europe were less popular than the other series. Although he had been 'over there,' he felt it was *too soon* to write stories of the war."

If, as it has been said, a history can not be impartial until at least fifty years have passed since the events recorded took

[7] *The Historical Novel and Other Essays.*

place, and a historical novel must be "trustworthy," it seems inconsistent to wish the writer to tell only of his own time.

As all the novels of democracy, except two, discussed in detail in the other chapters of this dissertation are also historical novels, it will be necessary to consider here that second large group of novels of democracy which have not generally been classified as historical, novels which would, excluding the two mentioned above, according to the historical plan of the thesis, find a place in chapters after the Civil War period.

These novels, the historical-genetic arrangement of which, for the most part, corresponds, contrary to the historical group, with the chronological sequence of action, may be divided, for the sake of convenience, into seven classes: the satirical, social, political, economic, feminist, immigrant, and socialist novels.

SATIRICAL

Modern Chivalry.[8] *The Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court.*[11]
Innocents Abroad.[9]
The Prince and the Pauper.[10] *The Traveller from Altruria.*[12]
Through the Eye of a Needle.[13]

Among the satires are: *Modern Chivalry* (1792-1805) by Hugh Brackenridge, our first novel of democracy and our longest early American novel,[14] probably, as well; Samuel Clemens's

[8] Hugh Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry or the Adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague O'Reagan.* Published in parts, 1792-1805; Pittsburgh: Patterson and Lambdin, 1819; Philadelphia: Getz & Buck, 1851; Pittsburgh: J. T. Shryock, 1853. For discussion, see Chap. IV.

[9] Samuel Clemens, *Innocents Abroad.* Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1869.

[10] Samuel Clemens, *The Prince and the Pauper.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1882.

[11] Samuel Clemens, *The Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court.* New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1889.

[12] Wm. Dean Howells, *The Traveller from Altruria.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894.

[13] Wm. Dean Howells, *Through the Eye of a Needle.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907.

[14] Miss Loshe, in *The Early American Novel,* New York: The Columbia

Innocents Abroad (1869) and *The Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court* (1889), both deriding the provincial reverence for things not American, especially the epidemic of Anglomania then prevalent; and also, the middle one of his satire-trilogy, *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882), in which is dressed, in fairy-tale garb, the thought in Burns's poem,

> "The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> A man's the gowd for a' that;"

and in which, when a little gutter-snipe impersonates the prince whom he resembles, great courtiers bow and scrape before the royal robes and fail to discover the counterfeit; and William Dean Howells's *Traveller from Altruria* (1894) and *Through the Eye of a Needle* (1907), similar in plan to Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721), particularly, *Through the Eye of a Needle,* which is entirely in letter form. The letters of the first part are written by the Altrurian, Mr. Homos, on his first visit to America, to a friend in Altruria. In these letters, Mr. Homos criticises American customs from the näive point of view of a citizen of a Utopian Republic, where service is noble, where everyone works or starves, and where there is no money. The letters of the second part are written by an American girl, now the wife of Mr. Homos and resident in Altruria, to a friend in America. She praises the Altrurian laws and manners with the zeal of a Utopian convert. In one letter is described the predicament of two ship-wrecked English families of wealth and distinction, who, with their valets, ladies' maids, and chefs, find difficulty in conforming to the Altrurian laws which compel all to work. As the situation and even some of the characters are suggestive of Barrie's *Admirable Crichton* (1914), which, however, has its setting on an uninhabited island, one wonders whether Howells's Utopian romance was not the source

University Press, 1907, calls John Neal's *Brother Jonathan* (1825) the longest, but *Modern Chivalry,* in its complete edition, two volumes, the first in four parts, the second in two, contains 50,000 words more, though in bulk it is thinner because it has thinner paper and finer print.

of inspiration for Barrie's delightful comedy. In *The Traveller from Altruria,* Mr. Homos makes his comments on American democracy directly to Americans and manifests great surprise at the satisfaction of the majority with what he considers archaic or medieval conditions.

Note.—While this dissertation was in print, that of Mr. Ernest Jackson Hall, *The Satirical Elements in the American Novel,* University of Pennsylvania, 1922, appeared. In Mr. Jackson's dissertation, more than eighty novels are listed.

SOCIAL

The House of the Seven Gables.[14a] *The Voice of the People.*[17]
The Hoosier Schoolmaster.[15] *The House of Mirth.*[18]
The Rise of Silas Lapham.[16] *Babbitt.*[19]
Certain People of Importance.[20]

In the social group of the novels of democracy are reflected, with more or less satire, the different stages through which American society has passed. In the order of publication and, with the exception of one, *Certain People of Importance,* in the historical development of society, the following novels are representative: Hawthorne's *House of the Seven Gables* (1851), in which is laid bare the gradual decay of the old gentry and the grafting upon it of the newer and more vigorous stock of the proletariat; Eggleston's *Hoosier Schoolmaster* (1871), the picture of a country school teacher's struggles for fair treatment among his own kind and his persecution by the narrow

[14a] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables.* Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1851.

[15] Edward Eggleston, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster.* New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1871.

[16] Wm. Dean Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham.* Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1885.

[17] Ellen Glasgow, *The Voice of the People.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1900.

[18] Edith Wharton, *The House of Mirth.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.

[19] Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922.

[20] Kathleen Norris, *Certain People of Importance.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1922.

and ignorant; Howells's *Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885) representing, in coarseness and veneer, in pathos and in majesty, the greatest picture of a self-made American which literature has yet produced; Ellen Glasgow's *Voice of the People* (1900), in which a "poor white trash" boy climbs to respect and honor through poverty, ignorance, and the aristocratic class-barriers of the South; Edith Wharton's *House of Mirth* (1905), a portrayal of the emptiness, parasitical hardness, and indifferent cruelty of fashionable society, in which Lily Bart, the creature of her environment as truly as a typical child of the slums, is an artistic achievement; Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt* (1922), a caricature of the commonplace American, amid commonplace surroundings, doing commonplace things in a commonplace way; and finally, Kathleen Norris's *Certain People of Importance* (1922), in which the fetish of parental authority in the latter half of the nineteenth century is disclosed with amusing yet tragic effectiveness. The last two novels might be compared, with some detriment to themselves, however, to the English novels *Mr. Prohack,* by Arnold Bennett, and *The Forsyte Saga,* by John Galsworthy, respectively, the popular revival of the "family" or "pedigree" novel.

POLITICAL

The Honorable Peter Stirling.[21] *John Marvel, Assistant.*[22]

Most of the novels of democracy belonging to the political group have been classified also as historical novels; such as, Cooper's *Littlepage Series,* Altsheler's *Herald of the West,* Mary Dillon's *Patience of John Morland,* and all of those that rehearse the conflicts of State Rights, Anti-Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Two at least, however, have not been so listed: Paul Leicester Ford's *The Honorable Peter Stirling* (1894) and Thomas Nelson Page's *John Marvel, Assistant*

[21] Paul Leicester Ford, *The Honorable Peter Stirling.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1894.

[22] Thomas Nelson Page, *John Marvel, Assistant.* New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1909.

(1909), which fall under the economic heading as well. The career of a clean politician, supposed to be Grover Cleveland, is followed in *The Honorable Peter Stirling,* and the psychology of the American "boss" discussed at some length. Of *Peter Stirling* Brander Matthews, in encouraging authors to write stories with contemporaneous settings, says:

"No American historian has a more minute acquaintance with the men who made the United States than Mr. Paul Leicester Ford; and yet one may venture to predict that Mr. Ford will never write a historical novel having a tithe of the historical value possessed by his suggestive study of contemporary politics in New York City, *The Honorable Peter Stirling.* Nevertheless, there are few librarians bold enough to catalogue . . . *Peter Stirling* under historical fiction." [23]

Perhaps the librarians would be willing to classify it under *Novel of Democracy.*

The corrupt political boss, McSheen, the antithesis of Peter Stirling, figures in *John Marvel, Assistant,* in which the wealthy interests are mostly pitted against the poor, the struggle culminating in a strike instigated by a paid trouble-maker.

ECONOMIC

The Silent Partner.[24]
Nicholas Minturn.[25]
The Octopus.[26]
The Pit.[27]
The Man of the Hour.[28]
A Certain Rich Man.[29]
The Rules of the Game.[30]
V. V.'s Eyes.[31]
King Coal.[32]
The Desert of Wheat.[33]

[23] *The Historical Novel and Other Essays.*

[24] Elizabeth S. Phelps Ward, *The Silent Partner.* Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co., 1871.

[25] J. G. Holland, *Nicholas Minturn.* New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1876.

[26] Frank Norris, *The Octopus.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901.

[27] Frank Norris, *The Pit.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1903.

[28] Alice French, *The Man of the Hour.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1905.

[29] William A. White, *A Certain Rich Man.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

The economic struggles in which first capital and then labor strive to become monopolies find expression in the following, among others:[34] *The Silent Partner* (1871), by Elizabeth S. Phelps Ward; *Nicholas Minturn* (1876), by J. G. Holland; *The Octopus* (1901) and *The Pit* (1902), by Frank Norris; *The Man of the Hour* (1905), by Alice French; *A Certain Rich Man* (1909), by William Allen White; *The Rules of the Game* (1909), by Stewart Edward White; *V. V.'s Eyes* (1913), by Henry Sydnor Harrison; *King Coal* (1917), by Upton Sinclair; and *The Desert of Wheat* (1918), by Zane Grey.

The Silent Partner was probably the first novel of note in America to give us pictures of the poverty and wretchedness caused by the grasping, unfeeling capitalists, whether big factory owners, railroad magnates, or both. It also heads the list, in point of time, of the novels in which is voiced a protest against the subserviency in the business world of women to men. Perley Kelso, the heroine, on the death of her father finds herself joint owner, with Maverick Hayle and his father, of a cotton-mill. Because she is a woman, she is deprived of any voice in the management. Prohibited from remedying working conditions, she can only alleviate, on her own responsibility, the miseries she sees. The tenseness of the tragedies enacted in the damp, decaying tenements of the poor and the sharply-drawn characters of Sip Garth, the ill-clad, uneducated, yet shrewd and intelligent mill-worker, and her sister Catty, deaf,

[30] Stewart Edward White, *The Rules of the Game.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1910.

[31] Henry Sydnor Harrison, *V. V.'s Eyes.* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1913.

[32] Upton Sinclair, *King Coal.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

[33] Zane Grey, *The Desert of Wheat.* New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1919.

[34] See *The Relation of the Novel to the Present Social Unrest.* Bookman: Vol. 40, pp. 276-304. November, 1914; also, pp. 56-83, on Herrick, Sinclair, and Dreiser, in Carl Van Doren's *Contemporary American Novelists.* New York: The Macmillan Company.

half-witted, going blind, and, worst of all, an unfortunate degenerate, grip one with the power of realism.

In both *Nicholas Minturn* and *A Certain Rich Man* poetic justice is meted out to the defrauding capitalist. The moral of both is the uselessness of material aggrandizement at the expense of integrity. *Nicholas Minturn* is one of our first novels in which reforms are accomplished. In *The Silent Partner,* Perley Kelso realizes that it is justice not charity that the poor want; fraternizing, not patronizing; but she is unable to give them justice. Nicholas Minturn, on the other hand, ridicules the Lady-Bountiful customs of the rich in the words, "Society cannot afford to have the vice of pauperism nourished for the small compensation of gratifying the benevolent impulses of the rich," and establishes a self-supporting coffee-house. *Nicholas Minturn* is noteworthy for its Dickensian flavor, particularly in the mannerisms of the Coates's family, and for the terrifying unregenerate death of the hypocritical fraud, Benjamin Benson.

A Certain Rich Man is, like *The Rise of Silas Lapham,* the story of a self-made American, but not nearly so well told and with a different plot. John Barclay, who is the principal character and dominates the book, is the personified force of relentless achievement. His political methods are typical:

"If he desired a law, he paid for it, not in a coarse, illegal way, to be sure, but through the regular conventional channels of politics; and if he desired to step on a law, he stepped on it, and a court came running up behind him and legalized the transaction."

The Octopus takes the war of the rich against the poor to the wheat-growing country of the West, where the railroad train runs ruthlessly through a flock of sheep, the slaughter of which symbolizes many things. Its companion-piece, *The Pit,* centers upon a deal in the Chicago wheat market and the wreckage of fortunes which ensues.

The Man of the Hour stands alone in this group for reaction against economic developments culminating in strikes. The

appeal is for reason and practical reforms rather than emotion and violent upheavals. The strike is regarded as the avoidable achievement of the paid instigator of strikes. As the character of the hero, Johnny Winslow, whose qualities are inherited from a Russian socialist mother and a New England mill-owner father, presents the principal problem of the story, so does the author indicate a mean of action between ardent, unthinking sympathy with anarchists and unsympathetic, conservative management of mills and factories.

In *The Rules of the Game,* the basis of economic operations is transferred to the vast forests of the West, mostly of California. The struggle to preserve for future generations the material blessings of the uninjured woods is waged by the Forest Rangers, who are combatted by the large lumber owners. Not until these companies are convinced that lumber may be cut and milled to commercial and financial advantage without injuring permanently the great national supply, does peace prevail in the forests. Bobby Orde, a son of one of the large lumbermen, after service with the Forest Rangers, is the one who persuades his father to abandon the old destructive methods of lumbering and accept the equally gainful yet humanitarian new way of cutting. Bobby Orde is one of the most normal creatures of fiction: a typical American boy, yet by no means a mere type; a college graduate and a foot-ball hero, clean and wholesome; slow at figures, not a genius at anything, but with sound common sense, a quick decisive mind, and a creed of playing life according to the rules of the game.

A new factory law "requiring owners to conform to certain standards of comfort and safety for their employees" is the purpose of *V. V.'s Eyes.* The fortune of the Heth family had been made from the ill-ventilated rooms and quaking floors of their cheroot factory. Through Dr. Vivian, physician and settlement worker, the deplorable condition of the building has been made public, but the publicity effects nothing till Carlisle Heth, the manufacturer's only child, suffers a regeneration from a selfish butterfly to thoughtful, self-sacrificing womanhood.

The young doctor's tragic death from the very floors he had condemned adds the martyr's halo to an already noble life. Compared with *The Silent Partner* (1871), with its hopeless acceptance of the wretched conditions of factory workers, *V. V.'s Eyes* (1913) shows evidence of the four decades' progress, not so much in the actual betterment, as in the less intolerant attitude of employers.

King Coal, despite the commendatory introduction by Dr. Georg Brandeis, seems play-acting and amateurish beside its palpable inspiration—Emile Zola's *Germinal.* The failure to convince in *King Coal* is due, perhaps, to the author's placing the dynamic situation, the investigation of mining conditions, as a mere vacational episode in the life of the hero, Hal Warner, or Joe Smith, as he is known during his mining term. Hal starts out during the summer to verify by practical experience as a miner the complacent theories of his political economy professors and the equally complacent business ethics of his elder brother, now in charge of his father's large mining interests. That he ends by accumulating an abundance of facts in refutation of both is partly indicated by the titles of the four books into which the novel is divided:

Book One—The Domain of King Coal.
Book Two—The Serfs of King Coal.
Book Three—The Henchmen of King Coal.
Book Four—The Will of King Coal.

With the grim power of *Germinal* fresh in mind, *King Coal* seems weak. If, however, it is wanting in the force of the original, it also lacks the sordid realism of the French masterpiece.

In *The Desert of Wheat,* the pendulum of economic disturbance has swung to the other extreme from the capitalists' corner. Labor, in the form of the Industrial Workers of the World, is interfering with the prosperity of the world. Vast wheat fields and grain depots are set on fire and destroyed to cripple the war efficiency of a great nation. The welding of

foreigners into loyal citizens to uphold the standards of the land of liberty defeat the efforts of the I. W. W. and send to the battle fields of France standard-bearers of democracy.

FEMINISM

The History of the Female American.[35]
True Womanhood.[36]
Dr. Breen's Practice.[37]
Julia France and Her Times.[38]
Hagar.[39]
Virginia.[40]

Possibly the earliest novel on feminism might be said to be Herman Mann's *The Female Review* (1797), purporting to be a biography taken from the memoirs of a Miss Deborah Sampson of Plympton, who, under the name of Robert Shurtlieff, enlisted in the Revolutionary War in 1778 and served for nearly three years. As, however, it is also a historical novel, it will not be discussed here, where I am establishing the non-historical novel of democracy as a *genre*. Other novels of the feminist group are: *The History of the Female American, or the Extraordinary Adventures of Unca Eliza Winkfield,* Compiled by Herself (1814); *True Womanhood* (1857), by John Neal; *Dr. Breen's Practice* (1881), by William Dean Howells; *Julia France and Her Times* (1912), by Gertrude Atherton; *Hagar* (1913), by Mary Johnston; and *Virginia* (1913), by Ellen Glasgow.

The History of the Female American, autobiographical in form, has its setting in the seventeenth century, in Jamestown, in England, and on a far-away island south of the United States.

[35] Compiled by Herself, *The History of the Female American,* Newburyport, n. d. Vergennes, Vt., 1814.

[36] John Neal, *True Womanhood.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1859.

[37] Wm. Dean Howells, *Dr. Breen's Practice.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1881.

[38] Gertrude Atherton, *Julia France and Her Times.* New York: Macmillan Company, 1912.

[39] Mary Johnston, *Hagar.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1913.

[40] Ellen Glasgow, *Virginia.* Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913.

The aim of the author is evidently to create a female Robinson Crusoe who will prove that a woman can live and provide for herself on an uninhabited island even without a man Friday. In fact, she speaks thus from her seventeenth century environment: "Some future bold adventurer's imagination, lighted by my torch, will form a fictitious story of one of his own sex, the solitary inhabitant of a desolate island." In the story, nevertheless, she would have perished but for the wine left by the old hermit and the directions in his diary for getting provisions and bettering island-living conditions as a whole. Miss Loshe, in *The Early American Novel* describes the novel as follows: "This unusual work unites certain characteristics of several types popular in the fiction of the day,—the religious novel, the Indian tale, the Robinson Crusoe romance, with a slight reminiscence of *Atala* (p. 77)." Unca Eliza, the heroine, is the daughter of an English settler of Jamestown and an Indian princess, Unca. Unfortunately, her mother's elder sister, Allaca, had also been in love with William Winkfield and finally brought about her mother's death. Despite or because of Allaca's promulgation of women's rights in love, "We are of opinion that nature has given us the same right to declare our love as it has to your sex," she fails to win her lover and dies of grief. Unca Eliza's father also dies, and Unca, who has been educated in England, decides to return there. On the voyage over, however because she refuses to marry the captain's son or to give him a large sum of money, she is marooned on an uninhabited island. Here, her Robinson Crusoe experiences begin, and she eventually becomes a missionary to a neighboring tribe of Indians who visit the island once a year.

True Womanhood is, if the author's purpose, avowed in his preface, be accepted as a characterization of the work, the first novel to advance, somewhat ironically, to be sure, the theory of woman's independence of man. John Neal discloses both his inspiration and his aim in the following words:

"Yielding to the suggestion of Longfellow, Allibone, and I

know not how many others, I have consented to write one more story. Not satisfied with the doings of my earlier manhood—having long entertained a notion that women have souls—or something of the sort, call them what you may—that they have not only a right to think for themselves but to act for themselves, and take the consequences here and hereafter, without being accountable to us, any more than we are to them; and that marriage is not always the best thing, nor the one thing needful for them, whatever it may be for us; I have written this tale for illustration."

But neither the illustrious sponsors nor the author himself was vindicated; for, while less sensational than his earlier novels, *True Womanhood* is far weaker both in plot and in character than *Brother Jonathan* and *Rachel Dyer,* for instance. The story is contemporaneous with its writing—the winter of 1857-1858; the period of religious revivalism, when, "thousands were filling the largest public halls of our country and most of the churches, not only every day in the week, but almost every hour of the day" (pp. 9-10). That the question of woman's rights would be treated ironically might be anticipated from the author's preface, and such is the case. To be sure, the heroine, Julia Parry, refuses the two candidates for her hand, but neither for a career nor for her own independence, though she makes some general remarks about marriage not being a necessity for the happiness of women. Mr. Fay is rejected because he is not a religious man; Arthur Maynard, her first cousin, because of her eugenic fears of a marriage of blood relations. In his last paragraph, the author laughs openly at his self-imposed problem:

"Julia persevered, and so did Mr. Fay—and so did Arthur; and as they are all unmarried—though a twelve-month has now gone by—it may be that they will continue to persevere—at least for another twelve-month; after which, something more may be heard of them—perhaps."

Even more ironical, is William Dean Howells's *Dr. Breen's Practice.* Miss Grace Breen, M. D., is a fine looking young

woman with whom men fall in love at first sight. Naturally, her career is absorbed in her marriage. In her first case, when she is having trouble because, not only of her inexperience but also of the distrust of other women, she rebukes her mother with what Howells intends, perhaps, as a rebuke to the world in general:

"I think it hard, Mother, that you should always be talking as if I wanted to take my calling mannishly. All that I intend is not to take it womanishly; but as for not being a woman about it or about anything, that's impossible" (p. 42).

It is fitting that the three novels which consider seriously woman's changed and still changing status are by women: Gertrude Atherton's *Julia France and Her Times*, Mary Johnston's *Hagar,* and Ellen Glasgow's *Virginia.*

Julia France and Her Times is laid partly in St. Kitts, West Indies Islands, and partly in England, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In it is portrayed the militant feminism of the time. Educated in an old-fashioned way, in almost absolute seclusion, the evolution of Julia Edis begins when she is taken to her first dance by her worldly-minded, autocratic mother to attract a husband. Her début is a success, from her mother's point of view, as Lieutenant France, of old and wealthy family connections, falls in love with Julia at first sight and speedily marries her. Lieutenant France proves to be, "a sensualist without an atom of real warmth; a card sharp, too clever to be caught; a periodical drinker; a vile, gross creature." At first, the life of Julia France is that of a prisoner in a torture-chamber; but, from meek submission to an almost insane system of terrorizing, she rises to strong independence and leadership, scandalizing her husband's noble relatives by her militantism. Almost equally interesting is the development of her two friends, Lady Ishbel Jones and Bridgit Herbert. Old-time socialism is repudiated, and more intelligent theories are advanced:

"Old-time socialism, which was only a weak step-sister of anarchy, no longer exists save in the minds of the old and tired

theorists. The younger men and women who are giving their brains and time to the question would do nothing so futile as to divide the wealth of the world into small equal shares. The modern socialists would have as little mercy on the idle and vicious as society has. All must work, and if the confiscation of much land forces the aristocrat to work, so much the better for him. All will be given the chance to work to rise. More than that no mortal law should attempt. Socialism perfected, is neither more nor less than the primal law of nature, re-established, rescued from the vagaries of a blundering civilization and crystalized into brain" (p. 337).

Mary Johnston, in *Hagar,* brings the question of woman's independence across the seas to Virginia, where, on the old-fashioned plantation of Gilead Balm, a civil war colonel rules with autocratic sway the destinies of his women-folk, until, Hagar, his granddaughter, revolts quietly but absolutely from the domestic despotism and shapes her own life, making speeches for equal suffrage and deciding the momentous questions of marriage and inheritance in direct defiance of the family's promulgated edicts.

In *Virginia,* Ellen Glasgow has given the tragic picture of a woman whom the hurrying stream of progress, particularly, the current of woman's civic and domestic emancipation, has left stranded. The story is that of a beautiful southern girl who marries young and is so absorbed in her children and her house that she stops growing intellectually and modishly and so fails to satisfy her handsome husband whom she loses to the vibrant actress who takes the principal rôle in his successful play. Of *Virginia,* Carl Van Doren, in his *Contemporary American Novelists,* says:

"*Virginia* is at once the most thorough and the most pathetic picture extant of the American woman as Victorianism conceived her.[41] But the book is much more than a tract for

[41] May Brewer in Kathleen Norris's *Certain People of Importance,* would now be a rival.

feminism to point to: it is unexpectedly full and civilized, packed with observation, tinctured with omen and irony."

In the conclusion, one wonders, however, if the author did not wish to convey the thought that Virginia, the typical Victorian mother, did not have some compensation for her self-sacrifice, in the unqualified love and reverence of her only son. The character drawing is particularly good of the Treadwells and the Pendletons and Miss Priscilla Batt.

THE IMMIGRANT

The Jungle.[42] *Comrade Yetta.*[43] *The Rise of David Levinsky.*[44]

Though perhaps the autobiographies, Mary Antin's *Promised Land* and Gertrude Stern's *My Mother and I* give a more accurate picture of immigrant life than the novels, Upton Sinclair's *Jungle* (1906), Arthur Bullard's *Comrade Yetta* (1913, and Abraham Cahan's *Rise of David Levinsky* (1917), their view is more limited; moreover, as the first three may hardly be called novels, they do not come within the range of this discussion. All three of the novels of this group might be discussed, with almost equal pertinence, under socialism; and the first two of them, in the economic division as well.

A Lithuanian wedding opens *The Jungle,* and is almost the sole bit of brightness in this sordid tale of the Chicago stockyards, reeking, literally, with the blood of hogs and steers and, figuratively, with that of human beings. The grimness of Zola oppresses the whole story, and the death of Ona is, perhaps, unsurpassed in its terrible realism even by the French master. The book is not only a chamber of horrors, but a succession of them, through which Hunger, Agony, Death, Cor-

[42] Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1906.

[43] Arthur Bullard, *Comrade Yetta.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

[44] Abraham Cahan, *The Rise of David Levinsky.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1917.

ruption, and Licentiousness stalk nakedly. The story ends in a blare of socialism, with the salvaging of Jurgis alone out of the twelve that had left Lithuania for the land of the free.

In *Comrade Yetta,* the little Russian Jewess, Yetta Rayefsky, at the age of six, comes to America, in 1890, with her father, after her mother and brother have been killed by a mob in Kovno, Russia. At sixteen, after nine years spent mostly sitting on a high stool, reading aloud, in her father's second-hand book store, her father's death sends her forth to make vests in a sweat-shop. The story of her joyless life at her aunt's, of her rescue from a "cadet," of her inspiration from hearing a talk on Unionizing, of her leading a strike of the vest-makers, of her imprisonment for assault on a policeman, and her final success as a newspaper woman is interwoven with her romantic love for Walter Longman and with Isadore Braun's self-sacrificing passion for her.

The Rise of David Levinsky (1917), by Abraham Cahan, is ranked by Mr. Carl Van Doren as "the most important of all immigrant novels." Like Yetta Rayefsky's mother, David's was killed by a mob of Christians who had pelted him with eggs and cut his lip. But David was nearly nineteen and an accomplished reader of the *Talmud* when his mother's life came thus to an end. Through the charity of several compassionate Jews, David is still permitted to continue his reading, though he has to sleep in the synagogue until the religious zeal of a rich woman prompts her to take him into her home. The daughter, discovering his great desire to go to America, procures the necessary funds for him. In America, his difficulty in earning enough to keep him from starving, the charity of an orthodox Jew in setting him up with a peddler's outfit, his learning to be a tailor, his setting up for himself, and his opposition to unions are chronicled in detail along with his various unsuccessful love affairs. In the end, though endowed with the world's goods, he fails to win the girl he loves,—partly because of his refusal to recognize the unions—and, at times, his worldly success turns to dust and ashes.

SOCIALIST

Looking Backward.[45]
Equality and Brotherhood.[46]
The Iron Heel.[47]
Comrades.[48]
The Harbor.[49]
The Seventh Angel.[50]

In the socialist group are: Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888) and the sequel, *Equality* (1897); Jack London's *The Iron Heel* (1907); Thomas Dixon's *Comrades* (1909); Ernest Poole's *The Harbor* (1915); and Alexander Black's *The Seventh Angel* (1921).

Our most noteworthy communistic polemic in fiction is probably Bellamy's *Looking Backward,* which not only made a sensation in its own day, but, with its sequel, *Equality,* probably remains unsurpassed in its forward-looking, constructive idealism, in our literature. Even Anatole France's *Sur la Pierre Blanche* (1903) seems to owe much to these two books, though Mr. W. L. George, in *Anatole France* (1915),[51] does not mention them, for he says:

"It is a queer intellectual Utopia, very different from Mr. Wells's, and probably rather distasteful to most of us. He figures men and women in the international state dressed alike" (p. 97).

The sameness in garb for all citizens, regardless of sex, is emphasized in *Equality,* as Edith Leete refrains from donning the common dress before Julian West and wears one of her grandmother's until he is strong enough to bear the shock of

[45] Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward.* Boston: Ticknor & Company, 1888.

[46] Edward Bellamy, *Equality and Brotherhood.* New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897.

[47] Jack London, *The Iron Heel.* New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1907.

[48] Thomas Dixon, *Comrades, a Story of a Social Adventure in California.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1909.

[49] Ernest Poole, *The Harbor.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

[50] Alexander Black, *The Seventh Angel.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921.

[51] *Anatole France* by Walter L. George. London: Nisbit & Company, Lt'd., 1915.

changed customs. *Looking Backward* was translated into French by Alice Berry and appeared under the title, *En l'An 2000,* in 1893. The hero, Julian West, goes to sleep in 1887 and awakes in 2000 to find a new economic world around him in which science has forged ahead beyond his belief: there is community ownership of everything except personal possessions; enforced labor for all; no money; instead, there are food tickets, clothes tickets, etc., where "a cart-load of gold will not procure a loaf of bread." Julian West marries the great-granddaughter of his fiancée of 1887. In *Equality,* there are further details of changed economic and industrial conditions, and the story proceeds to the next generation.

Casting the horoscope of society more than seven hundred years into the future,—419 B. O. M. [Brotherhood of Man],—Jack London prophesies in *The Iron Heel* the social revolutions of three centuries, but particularly, those of the years 1912-1937, which the "Everhard Manuscript" purports to cover. As interesting as the story itself, are the notes with which the author, from a supposed seven-centuries-futurity view-point, illuminates the minds of his fifth century B. O. M. contemporaries. In the introduction, the Iron Heel is defined as the "Oligarchy of Capitalism, an abnormal development in the otherwise logical social progression of primitive communism, chattel slavery, wage slavery,—socialism." The Brotherhood of Man was delayed three centuries, according to the explanation in the introduction, by the autocratic rule of the oligarchy, interspersed though it was, with "many Revolts, all drowned in seas of blood, ere the world-movement of labor should come into its own." Ernest Everhard, in his discussion of the economic strife of the time—our time, 1912-1932, declares to a tradesman, "Just as your class, [the bourgeois] dragged down the old feudal nobility, so shall it be dragged down by my class, the working class" (p. 98). And still further, he affrights the little tradesmen who are being pushed out of business by the trusts:

"One and all you tell the same story,—the passing away of

competition and the coming on of combination. . . . This is the fiat of evolution. . . . Combination is stronger than competition. . . . The tide of evolution never flows backward. . . . It flows from competition to combination, and from little combination to large combination, and from large combination to colossal combination, and it flows on to socialism, which is the most colossal combination of all" (pp. 128-141).

A strong, humorous right-about from Red frenzy is given in Thomas Dixon's *Comrades.* It is a farcical exposition of socialism to its logical conclusions in an imaginary communistic experiment, in 1898-1901, on an island off the coast of Southern California. The problem of equal work and equal pay for all is found unsolvable. After the young director, Norman Worth, has asked for carpenters, hod-carriers, ploughmen, washerwomen, cooks, etc., he finds volunteers for only hunting, fishing, preaching, and acting. Enforced labor results, but equal pay is out of the question, for the sewer-cleaners demand $150 a month, all expenses, and a four-hour working day—and get it. Hence arises, as one of the disgusted members proclaims, "an aristocracy of filth." When forced to look after the pigs, the old evangelist from the poor-house voices his complaints:

"I want to call sinners to repentance, not swine to their swill. . . . I left the poor-house to come to Heaven and, by gum, I've landed in the workhouse." Stronger and stronger becomes the centralized government of the community until autocracy results, the power is seized by a licentious despot, and Norman is put in prison. Contriving through an Indian adherent of the family to get word to his father and the governor of the state, Norman is rescued, not only from his imprisonment, but also from his radical opinions.

In both *The Harbor,* by Ernest Poole, and *The Seventh Angel,* by Alexander Black, there is the surge of socialism, without any very definite direction to its waves. In both there is the restlessness of questing discontent. In *The Harbor,* the hero and his sister investigate socialism, but there is more or less backwater at the end. *The Harbor* has a distinction of

style and atmosphere which is lacking in most of the books of this period.

In *The Seventh Angel,* characterized by Mr. Black's usual impressionistic style, is echoed the post-bellum roar of social and economic cross-currents. The Seventh Angel is the Seventh Plague of confusion which has set the whole world ajar. Ann Forest, after being a war-worker over seas, avid to feel and understand the stir of life in all its phases, stays in New York and makes friends with the men and women socialists there, while America's third reconstruction period is enacted in the nation's metropolis:

"Something that had been called great was over, but nobody could seem to sit down. The clatter of clearing débris, the scurrying of distracted figures, and a murmur that always seemed to come from somewhere beyond, were making life nervous." The imprisonment of Debs and the ejection of the socialists from the New York Assembly cause fierce discussions. In fact, the book is mostly discussion; that is the fault of it. There is, however, an artistic restraint in the picture of democracy's adjustment to after-the-war conditions. Acute observation, regret for what has passed, and yet a humorous acceptance of the change are noticeable in the following:

"The old system's fading out. Family is gone, except as a breeding unit. Well, maybe, that means that Socialism's really coming. Meanwhile, the restaurant table is the capitol of human intercourse. You see the men signing contracts between cups. They seal the covenant with gravy. I know a man who has been engaged to a girl for four years. Except for the sidewalks, he has to take out his love-making at a restaurant table. There used to be a parlor in her rooming-house, but that is rented now to a beauty specialist. I suppose we'll all get to have the restaurant look after a while, with faces like bills of fare. It can't help happening. What do they call it—evolution?" (p. 329).

As a *genre,* then, the novel of democracy may be found among both the historical and non-historical novels. It is

always a novel of purpose: in it the spirit of patriotism is revived; national complacency is mocked; ignorance, unsparingly ridiculed; an alarm is struck when danger threatens; a protest, uttered; a reform advocated; injustice, denounced; progress, depicted; and turmoil reflected.

The historical-genetic arrangement is both satisfactory and interesting for the non-historical novels of democracy because, in the main, the date of publication is in the same decade as the action of the story and, though the groups themselves overlap, the arrangement of the novels within a group is not only chronological according to dates of publication but, with few exceptions, historical as to the growth of the particular development that is reflected. Perhaps this historical-genetic arrangement will be clearer if arranged in a tabular form of seven parallel columns. (See Table.)

While the chart is representative and not exhaustive, the grouping is indicative of at least two things: First, that the greater number of non-historical novels of democracy fall within the decade 1905-1915; secondly, that the economic group is the largest. Moreover, the novels of democracy not mentioned here, such as, *The Boss* (1903) by Alfred Henry Lewis, *The Financier* (1912) by Theodore Dreiser, and *Clark's Field* (1914) by Robert Herrick, were all published within the same decade, and most of them belong to the economic group. It is interesting, too, to note that the period particularly prolific in the American historical novel, 1896-1902,[52] immediately preceded that of the largest out-flowering of the novel of democracy. Whatever the connection between the two, however, the novel of democracy has a much more vital relation to history itself. In this particular instance, it was the direct outcome of the so-called "muck-raking" period in American politics, the era of political and economic reform-struggles. Still fur-

[52] See *The American Novel* by Carl Van Doren. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921, p. 248.

ther, if one is willing to be a literary prophet without honor anywhere, one may predict that, after the novel of democracy has consumed its socialistic fire, it will take upon itself an internationalist spirit which will reflect the struggles of the nations of the world to pass from their state of nature into an international commonwealth—a league of nations.

For the historical novels of democracy, the historical-genetic arrangement is not possible with the second purpose of this dissertation in mind; that is, to show how the progress of democratic ideas in America is reflected in the American novel of democracy. Hence, the historical-literary plan will be followed in the succeeding chapters. In fact, for the discussion as a whole, of which this dissertation forms only a part, the novels will be arranged in historical-literary sequence in order not only to prove that these novels of democracy tell the story—in imaginative vein, to be sure,—of the spiritual growth of the nation, but also to make available to teachers and pupils material which will inspire and supplement more serious study of both history and literature.

Much has already been done with the purely historical novel by means of *Guides* [53] which have the books classified according to the time and locality of the subject matter. Moreover, Miss Violette E. Scharff, in her dissertation,[53] *Le Roman Historique Americain,* has also followed the historical-literary plan. Besides, Miss Scharff has been selective, not exhaustive, choosing to discuss only fifteen books, all of late publication except those of Cooper's, though listing about one hundred and fifty others portraying different stages of American history.

To be exhaustive in a discussion of even the historical novel, which has already at least two compendious lists containing several thousand titles, would be a gigantic task; to make such an attempt with the novel of democracy, with no specific guides, would be presumptuous. Therefore, no claim is made for the completeness of the list given here, though it is believed that

[53] See notes, p. 1.

it is representative. As the purpose has been to show the evolution of the national democratic complex from the early settlements to the present time, effort has been made to find a novel of democracy for every stage of development, but even here, absolute thoroughness has been impossible, though there has been an earnest endeavor to approach it. New discoveries and even old recollections are constantly bringing to light new material; occasionally, too, fiction has failed to reflect a period.

As the value of the study, after the establishment of the *genre,* is in the arrangement of the books by which a clear-cut view of the onward march of democracy is given, only one representative novel for each step has been chosen and repetition avoided. Sometimes, the selection has been limited to one; at others, there have been several novels of democracy for the same issue, and choice has been difficult. For instance, the two novels, *Horse-Shoe Robinson,* by John Pendleton Kennedy, and *The Partisan,* by William Gilmore Simms, written in the same year, 1835, and on the same subject, the Revolution in the Carolinas, are almost equal in value for illustration of their theme. The latter was given place in the historical scheme, however, in preference to the former, because, in the opinion of the author, the spirit of the times both in the swamp warfare and in the conflict between patriots and tories was more in evidence in *The Partisan* than in *Horse-Shoe Robinson.* A stronger reason existed for the selection of Jane Austen's *Standish of Standish* (1889) rather than Mrs. Harriet Vaughan Cheney's *A Peep at the Pilgrims in 1636* (1824):[54] The story of *Standish of Standish* begins with the landing of the Pilgrims, not sixteen years later, and tells about their experiment in communism, of which, naturally, there is no mention in *A Peep at the Pilgrims in 1636.* For reasons equally cogent choice was made elsewhere. It is hardly to be expected, however, that everyone will concur in the writer's opinion.

[54] Given as 1825 in *The Early American Novel* by Lillie D. Loshe. Two Volumes in Library of Congress, published in Boston: Well and Lilly, 1824.

Other lists are possible; this discussion depends upon but one. Moreover, other lists by other people are desirable, for the more such lists, the more widely disseminated will be the absorbing story of the greatest republic in the world. I have not discussed either juvenile fiction or political allegories; such as Francis Hopkinson's *A Pretty Story,* 1774, Jeremy Belknap's *The Foresters,* 1792-1796, and J. Kirk Paulding's *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan,* 1812.

Despite the formidable critics of the historical novel, Madame de Staël, Leslie Stephens, and Brander Matthews, there have been many advocates for its supplementary use in the teaching of history. Among the helpful articles are: *The Importance of Illustrating New England History by a Series of Romances* by Rufus Choate;[55] *The Reading of Historical Novels and the Study of History* by Ada Shurman[56] and *Historical Novels and Their Uses in Teaching* by C. S. Fearenside.[57] What has been said in favor of the historical novel as an aid in the vitalizing of history may be emphasized in regard to the novel of democracy, not only for history, but also for civics and economics. It is hoped that the historical-literary arrangement has been vindicated as well as the chioce of a single novel for each step in development.

With the outline decided upon, the big problem was to find a novel of democracy for each epoch. It was sought in the following ways: Through guides to historical fiction—there are none to novels of democracy; through the card index at the Library of Congress, where well-informed attendants reduced the drudgery of such a search; through standard works on American literature and the American novel; through *The Reader's Guide* for suggestive titles of essays and articles; through personal recollections of a fairly wide reading in American fiction; from helpful suggestions of interested friends; and last and most important, from the inspiring lectures of

[55] *New England Magazine,* April, 1900.
[56] *The Scots Magazine,* April, 1900.
[57] *The School World,* November, 1900.

Dr. Arthur H. Quinn, of the University of Pennsylvania, on *The American Novel.*

When a novel was found that seemed to revitalize a period, that novel was selected, despite the fact that the work had not been considered worthy of listing among historical novels in either Mr. Nield's or Mr. Baker's lists. Such was the case with both Lydia Maria Child's *Rebels* and Catherine Maria Sedgwick's *Linwoods,* typical romances of the time, to be sure, yet entitled to a place in this discussion because of the spirit of patriotism which the authors had avowedly breathed into them.

The author was next investigated in order to evaluate the the authenticity of his material. Just a few of those who did research work in the historical fields which they chose for the background of their fiction are: John Neal, whose historical romances, also, do not appear in either Mr. Nield's or Mr. Baker's *Guides,* who, before he wrote any of his novels except *Keep Cool,* 1817, collaborated with Tobias Watkins in *A History of the American Revolution;*[58] *comprehending all events both in the field and in the cabinet,*—a book projected by Paul Allen but written by his two friends; Mary Johnston, who published in the Yale University Series, New Haven, 1918, *Pioneers of the old South; A Chronicle of English Colonial Beginnings;* and Stewart Edward White, who is an authority in the history of California with his *Forty-Niners; A Chronicle of the California Trail and Eldorado,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918; *The Mountains,* New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. 1904; and *The Pass,* New York: The Outing Publishing Co., 1906.

Where I have varied from the usually accepted authorities I have done so, I trust, with due justification. For instance, I have stated (p. 4) that Hugh Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* (1792-1805) was probably our longest early American novel though Miss Loshe affirms in *The Early American Novel* (p. 93) that John Neal's *Brother Jonathan* (1825) "enjoys

[58] *A History of the American Revolution* by Paul Allen. Baltimore: Printed for Johns Hopkins, 1819.

the distinction of being the longest work in early American fiction, if not in all American fiction." In listing *Modern Chivalry,* however, Miss Loshe gives the dates of publication (1792, 1792, 1793, 1797) of the first volume only, while there are two volumes, the first containing four, the second, two parts, the last of which was not published until 1805. The two complete volumes are most assuredly longer than the three volumes of *Brother Jonathan* in the matter of words, though not in the matter of pages.

Also, Miss Loshe, in *The Early American Novel* (p. 102) suggests that Mrs. Sedgwick's *Redwood* (1824) "belongs rather to the novel of manners, reminiscent of Miss Edgeworth. The scenes include a Vermont village, a Shaker community, and a fashionable watering place." Yet I have ventured to call Mrs. Sedgwick's *Linwoods* (1835), not published till eleven years later, our first "real novel of manners" (p. 34) because the manner of living is described in much more detail. I cite as evidence: the visit to the fortune-teller's; the banquet at the Ruthven's; the cordial reception and humble meal provided at the Lee's for Herbert Linwood; Eliot Lee's departure from home; Lizzie Bengin's shopkeeping; the daily life of the Linwoods; and Kisel's imprisonment.

Incidentally, too, in the necessarily extensive reading among books of such promising titles and disappointing material as Samuel Woodworth's *Champions of Freedom* (1816), and Mrs. Eliza Lanesford Cushing's *Saratoga* (1824) [59] and *Yorktown* (1826), the authorship of the last two books was discovered and verified with the help of Miss M. A. Gilkey of the Library of Congress. Both *Saratoga* and *Yorktown* are classified as of unknown authorship in Miss Loshe's *Early American Novel,* pp. 117, 118, and also in Oscar Wegelin's *Early American Fiction* 1774-1830. New York; Published by Compiler, 1913. Mrs. Eliza Lanesford Cushing was the sister of Mrs. Harriet Vaughan Cheney, the author of *A Peep at the Pilgrims in 1636*

[59] Verified by edition in Library of Congress. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1824; given 1825 in Miss Loshe's *Early American Novel.*

(1824) and a daughter of Mrs. Hannah Webster Foster, the author of *The Coquette* (1797), which went through thirty editions in thirty-six years and was one of the two most popular early American novels of the Richardsonian type.

In this discussion, in which I have attempted to demonstrate how the progress of democracy has been mirrored in American novels, I have pursued a three-fold plan, occasionally modified: First, I have stated in substance or actual quotation that for which the book was included in the list—the particular step in religious, political, economic, or social growth; second, I have indicated the theme of the story; and third, I have noted particular characteristics or have expressed, as a slight contribution to the comprehensive history of the novel, a general estimate of the literary value of the book.

As a whole, I have traced in *The Novel of Democracy in America* the gradual evolution of the power of the people, from the Divine Right of Kings, through class-oppression, religious persecution and witchcraft, through communism and agrarianism, to popular government, made secure by the success of the American Revolution. Then I have pointed out that, during the first reconstruction period, there was a reaction from the intense patriotism of Revolutionary times and a satirical attitude toward the crude attempts at self-government; that, before the New Republic of the United States could have honorable peace, it had to fight a second war of independence with Great Britain and prove to her that she could not coerce it into a second subjugation; that the West ushered in a new development of democracy under the leadership of Andrew Jackson and broke the power of the legislative aristocracy, grown strong since the achievement of political independence; that the enjoyment of liberty in America made its writers sensitive to oppression in other countries; that an awakened national conscience revealed the country's injustice to the Indian and set in motion the laws of compensation; that the people began to realize the inadequacy of political freedom without economic equality and initiated reform-legislation;

that the gold-fever of '49 brought to the western coast battles for law and order from which the colonies had been mostly exempt two hundred years before. Next I have portrayed the conditions of slavery, the political battle for states-rights, the struggle of the Civil War, and the terrors and sufferings of the second reconstruction period. I have depicted, further, the growing power of capitalism, paralleled with increasing reforms, and challenged by a threatening labor-monopoly; the doings of the I. W. W.; and our participation in the World-war. And finally, I have pictured the throes of the third reconstruction period, when socialism and internationalism are affecting the country in this year of nineteen hundred and twenty-two.

In this dissertation, I submit only four chapters of my study. The remaining periods, beginning with the period of the Civil War, therefore, remain to be published at some later time.

In the Appendix, however, will be found, in historical literary sequence, a list of novels of democracy, which will outline the complete work and parallel in fiction the records of history.

CHAPTER II

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Virginia

To Have and to Hold.[1]

The Divine Right of Kings, with its pros and cons, is the political basis of Mary Johnston's *To Have and To Hold.* The heroine, Jocelyn Leigh, before she comes to Jamestown, is taught by the queen, "That rebellion to a king is rebellion to God," and that is represented as the sentiment of the majority of Virginia's colonists in 1621. Yet that some men were beginning to regard the Doctrine of Divine Rights not as a creed, but as an expediency, is also shown. When Ralph Percy proclaims his faith in God and his good sword, his companion retorts, "A very knightly dependence, but not to be mentioned nowadays in the same breath with gold and the king's favor" (p. 86).

And further, when Lord Carnal, the king's favorite, presents a letter from King James I, commanding the return of the king's ward, the Lady Jocelyn Leigh, then the wife of Ralph Percy, Governor Yeardley, though unwilling to defy his sovereign openly, delays obedience on a pretext, when he writes:

"The king's commands have always come through the Company. The Company obeys the king; we obey the Company. His Majesty's command (with reverence I speak it) is out of all order."

By Order of the Company was the first title of the book. The theme of the story is Ralph Percy's struggle to keep his wife, the beautiful and proud Lady Jocelyn. The romantic

[1] Mary Johnston, *To Have and To Hold.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1899.

interest of that struggle far surpasses either the historical atmosphere or the political expression. The main incident, the arrival of ninety maids to be bought by the bachelors of Jamestown for one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco each, is picturesquely portrayed:

"Before the arrival of yesterday's ship, there had been in this natural Eden (leaving the savages out of the reckoning) several thousand Adams and but some three score Eves, and for the most part, the Eves were either portly and bustling or withered and shrewish housewives of age and experience to defy the serpent. These were different. Ninety slender figures decked in all the bravery they could assume, ninety comely faces, pink and white or clear brown with the rich blood showing through; ninety pairs of eyes, laughing and alluring, or downcast with long fringes sweeping rounded cheeks; ninety pairs of ripe red lips,—the crowd shouted itself hoarse and would not be restrained, brushing aside like straws the staves of the marshal and his men, and surging in upon the line of adventurous damsels. I saw young men, panting, seize hand or arm and strive to pull toward them some reluctant fair; others snatched kisses, or fell to their knees and began speeches out of *Euphues;* others commenced an inventory of their possessions—acres, tobacco, servants, household plenishing. All was hubbub, protestation, frightened cries, and hysterical laughter" (p. 13).

The business-like point of view of the maidens is quaintly and humorously illustrated in what the author terms a "dialogue between Phyllis and Corydon." "Says Phyllis: 'Any Poultry?'

"Corydon: 'A matter of twelve hens and twa cocks.'

"Phyllis: 'A cow?'

"Corydon: 'Twa.'

"Phyllis: 'How much tobacco?'

"Corydon: 'Three acres, hinny, though I dinna drink the weed myself. I'm a Stewart, woman, and 'the Kings puir cousin.'

"Phyllis: 'What household plenishing?'

"Corydon: 'One large bed, one flockbed, one trundle bed, one chest, one trunk, one leather carpet, sax cawfskin chairs, an' twa three rush, five pairs o'sheets an' auchteen dowlas napkins, sax alchemy spunes——'

"Phyllis: 'I'll take you.'"

The book ends with the Divine Right of Kings supreme, for Ralph Percy is permitted to keep his bride, not because he has circumvented Lord Carnal at every point, but because, during the latter's absence from court the Duke of Buckingham has regained his ascendancy over the King, and obtained the sovereign's sanction to the marriage.

Prisoners of Hope.[2]

Class oppression, the absolutism of the slave holder, whether toward blacks, Indians, or indentured whites, breathes throughout Miss Johnston's earlier novel, *Prisoners of Hope,* portraying Virginia in the latter part of the seventeenth century, at the time of the Restoration in England. The theme is concerned with the ineffectual efforts of these oppressed slaves, many of them Cromwell's ex-soldiers, to establish a Commonwealth on the shores of the Chesapeake. Interwoven with the theme is the tragic love-story of one of these unfortunates and Patricia Verney, a daughter of the ruling class, in fact, his "master's" daughter.

The temper of the time is accurately conveyed through the doings of its legislature:

"At Jamestown, twenty miles away, the Assembly had adjourned after a busy session. A law debarring that turbulent people, 'the Quakers,' from further admittance into the colony and providing cold comfort for those within its doors was passed with acclamation, as was another against Anabaptists, and a third concerning the hue and cry for absconding servants and slaves. The selling rates for wines and strong liquors were

[2] Mary Johnston, *Prisoners of Hope.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1898.

fixed, a proper penalty attached to the planting of tobacco contrary to the statute, a fine imposed for non-attendance at church, the Navigation Act formally protested against, the trainbands strengthened, an appropriation made for new whipping posts and pillories, a cruel mistress deprived of the slave she had mistreated, a harborer of schismatics publicly reproved, and a conciliatory message and a present sent to the up-river Indians—when the Assembly had adjourned with the consciousness of having nobly done its duty" (p. 27).

The Cavaliers of Virginia.[3]

Bacon's Rebellion is the chief event in *The Cavaliers of Virginia,* which covers the same period as *Prisoners of Hope,* but which gives far greater expression to the political feeling of the time and more detail as to the historical background. It begins thus:

"About the year 16—, the city of Jamestown, then the capital of Virginia, was by no means an inapt representation of the British metropolis, both being torn by contending factions, and alternately subjected to the sway of the Roundheads and Royalists. . . . First came the Cavaliers, who fled hither after the decapitation of their royal master. . . . After the Restoration came another class of refugees, in the persons of Cromwell's veteran soldiers themselves" (pp. 1-2).

Nathaniel Bacon is the hero of the story and the soldier to whom all turn in the time of Indian attacks. At first, he leads the colonists with the approval of the royal governor, Sir William Berkley; afterwards, despite his protests. At the eager solicitation of the colonists themselves, weary of importuning their dignitary in vain for aid against the hostile savages, Bacon becomes their general:

[3] William A. Caruthers, *The Cavaliers of Virginia.* London: Printed for A. K. Newman & Co., 1837. The first edition is given as 1835 in the *Cambridge History of American Literature,* I, p. 312; and 1832, p. 145 in *A Manual of American Literature,* Edited by Theodore Stanton in collaboration with members of the Faculty of Cornell University. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909.

"They resolved at once to assume that authority to protect their lives and property which they now felt, if they had never before known, was an inalienable right. Here was sown the first germ of the American revolution. Exactly one hundred years before the American revolution, there was a Virginia revolution based upon precisely similar principles. The struggle commenced between the representatives of the people and the representatives of the King; the former had petitioned for redress, 'time after time;' remonstrance after remonstrance had been sent to Sir William Berkley; but he was deaf to all their reasonable petitions. The Cavaliers and citizens of the colony now arrived at the infant capital, resolved to take upon themselves as much power as was necessary for the defence of life, freedom, and property" (pp. 179-180).

Written more than fifty years before *Prisoners of Hope, The Cavaliers of Virginia* shows its age distinctly in its style. The heroine, Virginia Fairfax, swoons at the least excitement, and romantic incidents abound. A mysterious hermit, a duel, two interrupted weddings with the same bride, the shadow of unknown parentage hanging over the hero, and continuous Indian uprisings place the novel accurately in the decade following Scott's death. The attitude toward the Indians, even in the midst of their massacring is the idealized one of Cooper. The white man's wrong to the dispossessed native is voiced eloquently by the partially captive Indian maid, Wyanokee, whose words have occasional flashes of scornful humor. To the usual platitudes in defence of the white man's action, she retorts, "The white man talks very fast and very well—he talks for the Great Spirit and himself, too."

Massachusetts

Standish of Standish.[4]

As an example of communism, in which few in England, except the Puritans, still had faith, the Pilgrims' settlement of

[4] Jane Austin, *Standish of Standish.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1889. I used the edition of 1895—Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co.

Plymouth, interestingly narrated in *Standish of Standish,* is important. The fifty left, after death had taken away nearly half, were divided among four or five houses, where duties were apportioned to all. But even though the Pilgrims believed in the plan and thought it the only possible arrangement in a bleak wilderness surrounded by savages, before the first year was out, couples were wanting their own homes.

The story begins on the first wash-day, when the women persuade the men to set them ashore on Cape Cod, and continues through the governorship of both Carver and Bradford to the arrival of the third ship, *Anne.* Miles Standish's unwise courtship, by deputy, of Priscilla Molines and John Alden's more fortunate wooing are related. The characters are particularly life-like, and the Puritan "vamp," Desire Minter, is a nuisance to the whole community.

The Coast of Freedom.[5]

A Romance of the Adventurous Times of the First Self-Made American.

In *The Coast of Freedom* is, perhaps, the most satisfying psychological exposition of witchcraft, illustrated by a particular case, that occurs in an American novel. Boston in 1692, with Cotton Mather as the chief prosecutor, is the scene of the action.

At the witchcraft trial, when Roger Verring sees the girl he loves about to be convicted on the perjured testimony of a rejected lover and a jealous friend, he declares vehemently to Cotton Mather and the other judges, "To bring accusation on evidence like this violates what has been the unassailable right of every Englishman since the Magna Charta" (p. 386).

In addition to the portrayal of the gradual creation of a witch by the popular mind, there is also, in *The Coast of Freedom,* evidence of the breaking down of the Puritan's narrow standards. Roger Verring stands as a protest against

[5] Adele Marie Shaw, *The Coast of Freedom.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902.

the suppression of feeling and of individuality; and his friend, the governor, Sir William Phips, as one of the standard-bearers of tolerance and democracy. Roger humorously tells of the townsfolks' disapproval of the governor's deeds:

"He gave a mighty dinner to all the ship carpenters of Boston and made no less display for them than for the Council! Oh, 'twas a most grievous scandal! . . . 'Twas a fortnight's wonder! There be some who suffer from it yet!" (p. 103).

Mistress Content Craddock.[6]

A protest against the theocratic government of Massachusetts and a declaration of Roger Williams's tenets, tenets which caused his banishment and the consequent founding of Rhode Island for religious freedom, in 1636, are the contribution of *Mistress Content Craddock.*

The two-fold light in which Roger Williams was regarded is indicated by the query of Content Craddock, the heroine, on her first meeting with him:

"Was this that disturber of the peace, that stumbling block and cause of offence who yet was dear to the hearts of the best men of the colony?"

The banished minister was taking advantage of his unofficial visit to Boston, on the occasion of Governor Winthrop's funeral, to preach in his former church the very doctrine for which he had been sent into the wilderness some years before:

"That do I deem not a matter of civil judgment, what lieth between a man and his God. . . . Ye have no more right to prescribe a man's religious opinions than ye have a right to the lands that ye have taken well nigh by force from those to whom they were divinely given, and who are even now learning to acknowledge the Giver" (pp. 66-68).

Another echo of the Divine Right of Kings is heard from a cavalier attending the sermon of Roger Williams and listening to the discussion which follows:

[6] Annie E. Trumbull, *Mistress Content Craddock.* New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1899.

"It jars on the ears of a loyal subject that the names of your magistrates are so often upon the lips of this worshipful assembly. Is it not to the owner of these lands of Massachusetts Bay that such difficulties should be referred? Methinks your holdings be of his Majesty, King Charles I" (pp. 73-74).

The hero and heroine in discussing afterwards Roger Williams' impassioned words, bring to bear upon them a light different from that of their parents—the dawning of the new generation's tolerance:

"It was yet too early to speak the words religious liberty, but vaguely informulated, that idea floated through these young minds. They could not guess that its day was drawing nearer, any more than they dreamed that they were sitting in the very place where the clouds of intolerance should cast the darkest shadow [witchcraft] that falls across the annals of New England" (p. 91).

The love story is nothing out of the usual, being the wooing of a Puritan maiden by a Puritan and a Cavalier. The one striking figure, besides that of Roger Williams is the mysterious Mistress Salome with her scarlet kerchief and simples. She reminds one of Hester Prynne and yet has the germ for a future witch.

New York

The Buccaneers.[7]

The Buccaneers is an arraignment of both the Dutch and English colonists of New York for their lack of participation in the struggle, in which most of the other colonists were engaged, against the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. To greed of gold in both Dutch and English, the author, Samuel Benjamin Herbert Judah, attributes the political apathy of the colony.

The English seizure of New Amsterdam he explains as follows:

[7] Samuel Benjamin Herbert Judah, *The Buccaneers.* Boston: Munroe & Francis; New York: C. S. Francis, 1827.

"With such lovers of encroachment, and men so greedy of possession, it was not to be supposed that the unoffending Netherlanders would remain long undisturbed. . . . By overreaching cunning and dastard subtlety, was the country snatched from its first settlers until at last the whole territory held by the Dutch was seized on by the English Crown" (p. 35).

While he comments favorably on the alertness of New Englanders, particularly in their prompt support of William of Orange, in contrast with the inaction of the leisure-loving Dutch, Judah censures the cruelty of the English colonists to the Indians:

"The English, flying from the iron band of persecution that had stretched religious intolerance over them in their native country, had sought the freedom of worship in the boundless deserts of America; where forgetful of the misfortunes and oppression in their own land, as their strength of population increased, with fire and sword, with murder and torture, they wrested the country from the Indian, who in their hour of mourning and distress had granted them a refuge and a home" (p. 33).

When New York did belatedly arouse itself to defend the claims of William and Mary, Judah pictures it as a house divided against itself because of the economic development into class-distinction, of its old stumbling block in the path of liberty —greed of gold:

"The seed of disunion was rooted which hath since flourished to the disgrace of the present day—the rich were too proud, as now, to mingle or follow, even in a good cause, with the poor—and these last were idle and disunited" (p. 38).

Then "there arose a champion for the people, one Jacob Leisler," who espoused the cause of William, overthrew the government of the Stuart representative, and became, for a time, a self-appointed governor of New York. His story is the most interesting part of the book. The mob-scene, in which two of his supporters are torn to pieces, is the most ghoulishly realistic portrayal of mob fury to be found anywhere. It is as if a maniac were gloating over the rabble's orgy:

"Not one but a hundred hands had stricken him [Eumet, one of Kidd's men, who was supporting Leisler] down—the passions of the infuriated crowd now knew no bounds—the voice of the Governor was unheard amid the uproar; . . . at one moment a hundred hands had grasped the bodies of the fallen adherents of Leisler, while numbers, unsatisfied, fought to attain the hold from those who had seized on the inanimate victims; with tumultuous screams, with horrid exultation, the disfigured trunks were dragged along the earth and pulled to and fro and dashed with wanton brutality on every side; on the bruised limbs heartless blows were showered, and fierce feet trampled them down; soon was every shred of garb that covered the mangled flesh torn in rags, and the breathless corses looked not of humanity, but rather shapeless and disgusting masses of filth and gore, for which, numerous madmen were contending; it was not long ere the trembling limbs were torn apart and hurled in the air while palpitating with life; and as though they were priceless, the livid and discoloured remains were caught up by the struggling populace as they fell among them . . .; like the wild dogs who battle over the bodies of the slain for a mouthful, they snatched from hand to hand bits of flesh that they had stripped from the bones, reeking with gouts of blood, and he that could obtain a strip of skin peeled from the scalp with the hair yet clinging to it, or a piece of flesh, however small, to hang up on the end of his pike, gloried as in a deed of praise" (II, 156-157).

The portrait of Dame Leisler is a caricature: "She was an armful, built like a herring-hoy, or a Dutch dotkin, measuring more round the waist than she appeared to have in height, with a little red nose, as brilliant as a ruby, small sparkling eyes, and cheeks shining like a kitchen maid's, and a chin hanging like a bladder, while to increase such charms, on her head she wore a huge monstrous, crisped and curled powder tower, which supported as it was, looked like a light house, built upon a milestone, or rather a church steeple on the top of a hogshead; she wore a gown of flame-coloured brocade, somewhat faded it is

true, but amply figured and flowered with monstrous tulips, Dutch pinks, and staring roses; and then her waist was set off with an enormous stomacher; . . . there was not a portion, however diminutive of her attire, but was flaunted with gay furbelows and ribands of a bright calico colour. . . . She glided about her room of audience like a shining gold fish swimming round his glass prison" (II, 29-30).

On the title-page of *The Buccaneers* its contents are described:

"A romance of our own country in its ancient day; illustrated with divers marvelous histories and antique and facetious episodes gathered from the most authentic chronicles and affirmed records extant from the settlement of the Niew Nederlandts until the times of the famous Richard [commonly called William] Kidd, carefully collated from the laborious researches and minute investigations of that excellent antiquary and sublime philosopher yclept Trentinius Phlogobombus."

Obviously of Irving's school, it might be called a more fictionized complement,—of far less merit—of the *Knickerbocker History of New York*. The word "romance" must be taken in its old definition of fictitious narrative, for neither the material nor the treatment is romantic. "Marvelous" is still more deceptive, and its use entirely unsustained. The proem is more indicative of the real contents of the book. In it, Algernon Sydney is described as "The great English martyr of Liberty who perished for writing found in his cabinet." A reflection upon the evils of the world, past and present, terminates in a vision, at the end of which the manuscript of *The Buccaneers* by Trentinius Phlogobombos is left upon the floor. The cacophonous pseudonym is in strict accordance with the Geoffrey Crayon, Gent., and Diederick Knickerbocker of Irving. *The Buccaneers* is neither history nor fiction, but alternate layers of each. The first fifty pages cover the history of the province of New York from the first settlement to the arrival of Henry Sloughter, the duly-appointed governor of William of Orange, and the execution of Jacob Leisler for treason in 1691. The remainder is interlarded with fictional episodes

partly historical, and moral and political reflections. There is none of Irving's pervasive humor, only a spurt, now and then, of malicious mirth. The dryness of style and the stupendous length of the sentences—the one describing the mob having five hundred and thirteen words—are, perhaps, sufficient to account for its century of oblivion. *The Buccaneers* is divided into five books entitled: I.—*The Life of a Double Dutchman;* II.—*The Traveller's Adventure;* III.—*Jacob Leisler;* IV.—*The Fatal Banquet;* V.—*The Conclusion.* It is published in two volumes.

Barnaby Lee.[8]

In *Barnaby Lee,* Holland's refusal to give even such a small share of liberty as a patent to her Dutch settlers in New Amsterdam is attributed to her mercenary absorption in her productive East India colonies. This grievance of having no patent was felt all the more because it was one of the pretexts upon which the English took possession of the province. The time of the action in *Barnaby Lee* is just before, during, and after the English seizure of New Amsterdam, in 1664, and is laid partly there and partly in Maryland. Again, the Dutchman's peace-loving thrift and slothful cowardice are contrasted with the reckless courage and piratical energy of the English. Between the two, stands the dauntless Peter Stuyvesant, who cannot raise the siege with his poltroon-burghers and is forced to surrender for the sake of the women and children. The love-story of a Maryland youth and a Dutch maiden is subordinate in interest to the events centering around Peter Stuyvesant and the background of Dutch customs, which are portrayed in John Bennett's delightfully humorous style.

Maryland

Mistress Brent.[9]

"A Story of Lord Baltimore's Colony in 1638" is the subtitle of *Mistress Brent,* which, while it expresses little of the

[8] John Bennett, *Barnaby Lee.* New York: The Century Co., 1902.
[9] Lucy M. Thruston, *Mistress Brent.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1901.

trouble-breeding spirit between Catholics and Protestants, treats of three other political issues: Claiborne's uprisings; the Assembly's struggle for rights; and its discrimination against women.

The Claiborne trouble is fairly explained and rightly attributed to the forgetfulness of the King in first giving a patent to Claiborne to settle Kent, and then including that land in Lord Baltimore's grant.

In regard to the great body of laws which the Lord Proprietor had sent for the government of the colony, the colonists took an independent stand and refused to have laws forced upon them. They claimed that " men who have strength and wisdom to do battle with the raw New World are men who know their needs better than my Lord who sits at home."

When Margaret Brent was obtaining, by special privilege of kinship, her thousand-acre plantation, her cousin Leonard Calvert, then governor, while his brother the Proprietary remained in England, warned her of the law against an unmarried woman's holding land:

" Our most puissant Assembly hath declared amongst other things that no woman shall hold lands within the colony, and should she inherit them, within seven years must she be mated, else are they forfeit to the proprietor " (p. 75).

When later on, as the executor of Leonard Calvert, Margaret Brent summoned the Assembly and so presided as to quell the factious elements and arouse their loyalty, one of the members declared,

" She is the only man amongst us all who could have done it."

Yet my Lord Baltimore was angered that the settlers should have acknowledged a woman as his representative and at the next Assembly she is refused a vote, because " 'Tis against the terms of the charter of Maryland." Moreover, because of her bold claim that her possession of land should entitle her to a vote, though she herself cannot be reached, because of the Lord Proprietary's transmission of the royal prerogative, the law against a woman's holding land is enforced against her best

friend, happily, however not to Mistress Hawley's great discomfiture, for she conforms to the law by accepting her faithful suitor, Margaret Brent's brother.

Rob of the Bowl.[10]

As the first novel of colonial Maryland which treats of the struggle of her founders for religious tolerance, *Rob of the Bowl,* by John Pendleton Kennedy, stands out pre-eminently.

In the preface the author says: "As a native of the state he feels a prompt sensibility to the fame of her Catholic founders, and, though differing from them in faith, cherishes the remembrance of their noble endeavors to establish religious freedom with the affection due to what he believes the most wisely planned and honestly executed scheme of society which at that era, at least, was to be found in the annals of mankind."

Kennedy also pays his tribute to the State Librarian of Maryland, to whose "research and antiquarian zeal" as well as the records of the colony, he is indebted for his historical fidelity.

The story opens in 1681 with some soldiers drinking at an inn in old St. Mary's. Their revelry is interrupted by a summons from the Proprietary, Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to come to him on matters of importance.

He had just received a communication from the Board of Trade and the Plantations "which concluded with a peremptory intimation of the royal pleasure that all the offices of the province should be immediately transferred into the hands of the Church of England Party." The communication also spoke of the displeasure of the King at the exclusiveness of the Proprietary's favors to the Catholic inhabitants of the province:

"This mandate was especially harsh in reference to the Proprietary, first because it was untrue that he had ever recognized the difference of religious opinion in his appointments,

[10] John Pendleton Kennedy, *Rob of the Bowl.* Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1838.

but on the contrary had conferred office indiscriminately in strict and faithful accordance with the fundamental principle of toleration upon which his government was founded; and secondly, because it would bear with pointed injustice upon some of his nearest and most devoted friends" (p. 49).

After Lord Baltimore had gathered his council together they agreed upon a diplomatic answer to the ministers, but also determined upon rigorous treatment for any malcontents in the province who had probably been partly responsible for the mandate.

In pursuance of his plan for keeping a sharp lookout for plots and counter-plots among the Protestants who were known to be meeting in secret, the Proprietary sent Captain Dauntress and Arnold to investigate a certain hut on the beach known as the Wizard's Chapel, said to be haunted because of the queer lights and noises that proceeded from it. No treasons were found to have been hatched here, however; only the mercenary plans of a pirate, Cocklescraft, and the smuggler and man of mystery, Bob o' the Bowl. Robert Swale, or Rob o' the Trencher, was so called because, both legs being cut off, he had supplied their loss by a "wooden bowl or trencher, of an elliptical shape, to which his thighs were attached by a strap" (p. 124).

In a tournament or "prize-play," where the opposing contestants happened to be of different religious beliefs, a fight ensued between the Protestants and Catholics, which, however, was quelled without serious injury to anyone, but served to increase the bitter factional feeling already engendered.

Though the story has all the earmarks of its romantic school and has much the same plot as *The Cavaliers of Virginia,* published just a year earlier, the character-portrayal is better and there is a naturalness of style which presages the later novels.

Cocklescraft, the swashbuckling pirate, after his scornful rejection by the Rose of St. Mary's, and his defeat in a duel by her more favored suitor, determines, though nominally a Catho-

lic, to align himself for the sake of revenge, with the Protestants who are plotting an uprising. On the eve of the outbreak he also plans and carries out the kidnapping of Rose. Through Albert Verheyden, Rose's lover, and Rob o' the Bowl, Rose is brought back and the plot circumvented.

Connecticut

The Romance of the Charter Oak.[11]

In *The Romance of the Charter Oak,* resistance to the tyranny of Sir Edmond Andros, a plot to subvert the rule of England over the colonies, Connecticut's successful retention of her royal charter, but her subservience to the "Blue Laws," and punishment by stocks and ducking form the background of the love-story of Lydia Goffe, the regicide's daughter, and Captain Wadsworth, the leader of the conspiracy against England's rule in the year 1687-1688. In the preface to the book, William Seton, the author, quotes historical authorities—Bulkeley's *Will and Doom* and Palfrey's *History of New England* —for this early revolutionary plot. Most of the story takes place at Hartford, though the first part has its setting in the wilderness, the hiding place of Colonel Goffe, thirty miles away; and the latter part, in Boston, where Lydia spends several months as one of Lady Andros's maids of honor. The most dramatic scene of the novel is the wresting of the charter, by the heroine, Lydia Goffe, from Sir Edmund Andros. There are several humorous episodes: Mrs. Bull's thrashing the elder and her simultaneous routing of Dr. Increase Mather, and her subsequent ducking for using her tongue too freely. The ironic treatment of Puritan customs lends amusement but destroys somewhat the historical atmosphere. Modern critical comment, in other words, is brought to bear on the facts of the past. Lydia meditates, for instance, "that the way to

[11] William Seton, *The Romance of the Charter Oak.* New York: P. O'Shea, 1871.

Zion is often made by foolish mortals rougher and more tortuous than God intended it to be" (I: 121). And, again, is the statement, "Whipping posts and stocks are always placed near the house of worship in order that the sinner, while he meets his deserts, may have his mind turned in a pious direction."

Mrs. Bull, a captain's widow, with her tarry relic of the "Polly Ann," is an Americanized Dickensian creation, whose appearance is the signal for instant merriment. Her partiality for ribbons and Shakespeare, as well as her shrewish tongue, brings about her banishment, after the ducking fails to reform her. The Puritan attitude toward Shakespeare is revealed in Nancy Clark's avoidance of the book, but, most of all, in the reaction of Barebones and Increase Mather:

"It was the widow's copy of *Shakespeare*. 'From the snares of the devil, O Lord deliver us,' Barebones cried, letting the book drop out of his hands.

"'What work is that?' inquired Increase Mather.

"'One forbidden to be read—lewd—full of profane language—foul in the extreme. I wonder not that those who peruse it stay away from meeting.'

"'Is it a quaker tract?' continued the minister, stretching out his hand. 'Allow me to see.'

"'You'd not touch it with the tip of your finger,' replied Mr. Barebones. 'Tis *Shakespeare!*'

"'*Shakespeare!*' repeated Mr. Mather. 'It must be destroyed; throw it into the fire at once.'

"The ruling elder cheerfully obeyed" (II: 61).

Hardly was the crime committed, when the owner both of the book destroyed and the domicile invaded appeared raging upon the scene:

"'You have burnt my Shakespeare, but I know it by heart. Here's from *Henry the Fourth.*—"Away you cut-purse rascal! You filthy bung, away! away, you bottle-ale rascal! you basket-hilt, stale juggler you!" and her speech was accompanied

by such violent blows on Mr. Barebones's shoulders, that the good man did not wait to manifest his pity for her."

Elsewhere in the book, Captain Wadsworth, a religious zealot but an inspired patriot, instructs Lydia Goffe in Connecticut history:

"The charter granted to this colony in 1662, leaves us free to make all our own laws, except such as are contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm of England; nor does the instrument even enjoin us to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, although two assistants were empowered to administer it. Being left to manage our local affairs, until recently, when you know Andros has undertaken to rule us, we have gone far ahead of Europe in self-government. The unit of our political system is the township, which draws its vitality direct from the people, who, without any ceremony come together to discuss public matters, and the freemen consider it a home duty to be present at town meeting.—With us, the two branches of the legislature act together and are not yet divided, as in the other colonies, into separate houses. At elections, we use beans and Indian corn; the corn signifying an affirmative vote, beans the contrary.—To enjoy the franchise, it is necessary to be twenty-one years of age, own real estate to the amount of twenty pounds, and to be recommended to the General Court by the selectmen, as honest, peaceable, and of civil conversation" (I: 191-193).

On the announcement of the accession of William of Orange to the throne, Mrs. Bull exclaims enthusiastically, "God bless William of Orange! He'll give us religious as well as political liberty. By all the sharks, here's an end of cages, ducking stools, and whipping posts; and now we'll kiss and dance, and read what books we like" (II: 345).

The charter, taken from under Andros's hand—after the candles around had been snuffed out at a preconcerted signal—by Lydia, passed swiftly by her to a friend, and then placed by Captain Wadsworth in the Royal Oak, was kept there till

1715, "when Lady Synnot [Lydia Goffe] wrote from England to the Governor of Connecticut, telling him where the precious instrument might be found."

South Carolina

The Carolinians.[12]

The rebellion of the people against the Lords Proprietors, 1718-1719, for leaving them without protection, open to the attacks of pirates and Indians, the French, and the Spanish, is understandingly treated in *The Carolinians,* by Annie L. Sloan. Aside from the love-story of Damaris Johnson, the daughter of the royal governor, and the witticisms of Lady Kildare, "The product of the polish and fashion of two courts," the contentions of the people for their rights are of main interest.

Lack of freedom of worship was not one of their grievances, for conformer and non-conformer had their chapels side by side, though at times, "Arrogant churchmen denied to Dissenter the rights of office and representation."

The variance in religious belief was due to the mingling of many national elements. Probably no other colony could boast of as motley a crew of settlers:

"English gentlemen, English adventurers, English outlaws, Dutch skippers, Dutch colonists from New Amsterdam, French artizans, French winepressers, rebellious Highlanders, French Redemptorists, Irish emigrants, Quakers, Dissenters, Cavaliers, Roundheads," were all held together by a charter drafted largely by Locke and Shaftesbury.

Because of the neglect of the Lords Proprietors to fortify the colony and their deafness to all appeals against the corruption of the Chief Justice, the colonists, though loyal subjects of the King, had been roused first to independent thinking, then to independent action.

[12] Annie L. Sloan, *The Carolinians.* New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Co., 1904.

"They sit in London amid an old civilization and make laws impossible for us in the new," declared one of the younger members of the Assembly.

And when the Governor tries to prevent the long suffering people from usurping the government, telling them it is treachery against their Lordships' authority, the members of the Assembly retort, one after another:

"We do but maintain our rights against tyranny!"

"The people have been tried beyond their strength!"

"Tyranny brings its own punishment!"

"We were bound together by mutual obligation and interest. They have foresworn their obligations, heaped oppression upon us, and we owe them nothing!" (p. 39).

The repartee in the book is unusual for a novel and smacks smartly of the stage:

Lady Kildare: "You are shockingly provincial."

Damaris: "It is better to be wicked than provincial."

Lady Kildare: "Certainly it is; everybody in good society is wicked, only we follow the London fashion and do not call each other names. To be good is to be an offense to your neighbor" (p. 48).

And further, in urging Damaris to make a decision among her suitors, the worldly old lady snaps decisively:

"You can't be an old maid, it isn't genteel."

"All the saints were single," is Damaris's demure response.

"Frumps, all of them," concludes the argument.

Georgia

Doris Kingsley.[13]

In *Doris Kingsley* are explained the philanthropic founding of Georgia and the laying out of Savannah according to the agrarian system. A mention is also made of the prohibition of slaves and negro labor:

[13] Emma Rayner, *Doris Kingsley.* New York: G. W. Dillingham, 1901. Born in England, graduated at Cambridge University, but in *Who's who of America* because living here now. On staff of *Youth's Companion.*

"A colony founded for the purpose of benefitting those who had been the butts of ill fortune in the old world and planned with a view to affording them, according to the fallible judgment of the founders, the best possible conditions for a favorable start, must necessarily differ from any other. . . . Men of honesty of purpose, whom misfortune or want of wisdom had made acquainted with the inside of a debtor's prison, and Protestants who had fled from Germany to escape the persecutions of their own land, were the privileged emigrants for whom the new colony opened a life" (p. 255).

The town of Savannah, then ten years old, "was planned for the people as a body, the regulations proving somewhat inelastic when viewed from the standpoint of the individual colonist. Here every man's dwelling stood upon a plot of ground, the exact counterpart, as regarded size, of that of his neighbor, and no man could possess more land than his fellows, unless by good luck he married a widow and added her portion to his own" (p. 256).

The prohibition not only of slaves but of negro labor is made to work a hardship both to Doris and her slave, Cicero, on Doris's departure from South Carolina. Cicero finds it difficult to understand why he may not follow "Little Missie" into Georgia:

"When the honest fellow realized that the laws of Georgia would not admit him within its limits, his eyes rolled in anger. 'That Georgia no colony for no lady to live in,' he said. 'What Little Missie do without any body to wait on her? That colony no good for nothing.'"

The chief interest of *Doris Kingsley* is the love-story of its heroine, a little London waif, then covenanted Virginia maid, and Gilbert Parker, first pirate, then Spanish merchant of St. Augustine. The terrorizing of Charles Town by pirates, the colonists' vengeful hanging of these over-bold sea-rovers, and Oglethorpe's attack on St. Augustine are points in common with Miss Sloan's *Carolinians*. The action takes place mostly

in South Carolina and Virginia, partly in Georgia and St. Augustine.

Thus from belief in the Divine Right of Kings, through class oppression, religious persecution and witchcraft, through communism and agrarianism, through righteous rebellion against tyranny of royal governors and neglect of Lords Proprietors, the colonists made onward to their three-fold goal—religious freedom, political equality, and popular government.

CHAPTER III

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Virginia Comedians.[1]
Bonnybel Vane or *Henry St. John, Gentleman.*[2]

The two books which portray best, probably, the brewing of the American War of Independence are J. Esten Cooke's *The Virginia Comedians,* "the best novel written in the South down to the Civil War," and its sequel, *Bonnybel Vane,* first called *Henry St. John, Gentleman.* The first covers the years 1763-1765; the second, 1774-1775. The setting is Williamsburg and the outlying plantations.

Patrick Henry or "The man in the Red Cloak," as he is called till almost the last page of the book, is the human embodiment of liberty's tongues of fire, while his disciple, Charles Waters, is, though less impetuous, the equally inspired and persistent moulder of public opinion. Political and philosophical discussions of the conditions of man and his chances of happiness fill every minute of their meetings.

Charles Waters is introduced as a radical whose "opinions will bring him to the gallows, if he does not beware." A minister of the Established Church reports him to Squire Effingham:

"He spoke of the oppressions of the Home Government, said that Virginians would not always be slaves, and actually

[1] John Esten Cooke, *The Virginia Comedians.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854; and 1883, which I have used.

[2] John Esten Cooke, *Bonnybel Vane or Henry St. John, Gentleman.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1859; and 1883, which I have used. Sequel to *The Youth of Jefferson* (1854) according to Carl Van Doren, *The American Novel,* p. 111.

broached a plan for thoroughly educating the lower classes" (p. 34).

"A statesman in short clothes," said the squire with a sneer—a colonial *patriot! faugh!* Educate the lower classes! Educate my indented servant, and the common tradesman and farmer and have the knave talking to me of the 'rights of men,' and all the wretched stuff and foolery of Utopian castle-builders! You are right, sir, that young man must be watched. . . . The direct consequence of these fooleries is to abolish our rank—follow these doctrines, and where will be our gentlemen?" (p. 35).

When Patrick Henry, to bring out the young thinker and "sift opinions and compare ideas" declares, "Despots are disagreeable, but necessary," Charles Waters, with a flood of eloquence, reviews the struggle of the whole human race, but particularly the English, for freedom:

"See England, groaning through all her history with the fatal incubus of a privileged class sucking up all offices of profit or distinction; a King whose person is sacred—who can do no wrong. See her still seeking for the true, the pure, the just; see those men of England plunging into war and blood to find the jewel—beheading the King in the name of justice—embracing puritanism because it clad itself in the robes of truth and purity—returning to their King when puritanism became bigotry" (p. 134).

The cause of the next heated argument was Patrick Henry's statement, "It is necessary to have a class that rules and a class that obeys." And so, throughout the story, Patrick Henry and Charles Waters mould public opinion in the cast of freedom. The tumult raised by the passage of the Stamp Act is still further excited by the impassioned words of the younger thinker and Patrick Henry's grim comment, "Good, the Revolution is begun" (p. 279).

Besides the sensational romance of the plot—Champ Effingham's infatuation for the young actress, Beatrice Hallam,—there is a purposeful exposition of the prejudice against those

on the stage. Beatrice's oft repeated, "I am an actress, sir, and not of your class," shows this sensitiveness. Also, the delineation of the delightful manners and customs of Virginia planters is equalled only by that of its sequel—*Bonnybel Vane,* or *Henry St. John, Gentleman,* as we prefer to call it.

In *Henry St. John, Gentleman,* the hot-tempered, treacherous "vulgarian," Lord Dunmore, has succeeded the amiable, well-bred Francis Fauquier and Lord Botetourt, as Governor of Virginia. Again Charles Waters and Patrick Henry are the political agitators of the day, but now secret, systematic organization is ready to galvanize the people into action. It is no longer the common people alone who are eager to strike for liberty, but the aristocratic planters as well, who resent fiercely the infringement upon their rights as English subjects.

The old planter, Colonel Vane, is now the once despised "patriot" who declares, "Miserable and woeful times! tyrants and knaves banded against honest men! I'll buckle on my sword and fight for the cause in the ranks, as a common soldier, before I'll forget that I'm a Virginia gentleman, and grovel in the dust and lick the boots of North and his yelping beagles. And not even tyrannical edicts will answer! We are to be whipped into submission by this General Gage, commander of his Majesty's forces in the provinces! . . . We the descendants of Englishmen, with the strong arms of our forefathers, and their liberty as British subjects" (p. 91).

Virginia's sympathy with her northern sister when the Boston Port Bill was enacted was illustrated by the action of the Vanes:

"When the family descended on the next morning, they saw, ranged in a long row upon the side board, the japanned tea-canisters of the house, all hermetically sealed with the Vane seal upon the wax" (p. 95).

When Charles Waters questions the young St. John, "You are a patriot?" the gentleman of Virginia replies:

"I know not what you mean by the word; if, however, it signifies a man who regards the legislation of Parliament as

odious and despotic, who would war to the death against the tyrannical enactments let loose upon Virginia, like a brood of cormorants; above all, who would gladly march at the head of a regiment to drive this man, Dunmore, from the capital of the province, and lash him like a hound from our borders—if that is what you call being a patriot, sir, I'm one to all lengths!" (p. 146).

Assured of Henry St. John's loyalty to the colony, Charles Waters gives expression to his own opinions:

"Yes, we free-born Virginians are becoming slaves—serfs! the serfs of a mean and ignoble Parliament full of representatives from rotten burroughs, and advancing to tread upon the necks of these provinces" (p. 148).

In contrast, the sentiments of the royal governor, Lord Dunmore, on dissolving the House of Burgesses for their "treasonable" action in resolving on the late bill for the closing of the Boston harbor, reflect those of his royal master:

"Yes, treasonable! they have presumed to declare that this bill is a blow at the liberties of America! The liberties! the very word is nonsense! I know what the tools of sedition say about these 'liberties,' but I say that the best writers upon constitutional law lay down the fixed principle that dependent colonies can have no liberties. They are subject to Parliament and the King; it is their place to submit. . . . It is impudence and nothing less, to declare that the government has no right to close the port of Boston for their act of sedition in destroying the tea in December last" (p. 218).

Though the House of Burgesses was dissolved May 26, 1774, its members met at ten the next morning at the Raleigh Tavern "to enter their solemn protest against the Act of the Governor and send their words of cheer," despite his prohibition, to their Massachusetts brethren.

After the Virginia delegates had returned from the general congress in Philadelphia in October, a second Virginia convention was held in March, 1775, at the old church of St. John in Richmond town. Here it was that Patrick Henry made his most memorable speech, part of which is quoted in the novel:

"If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retreat from the contest! There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable! and let it come! I know not what course others may take, but as for me—give me liberty or give me death" (p. 382).

The love-story of *Henry St. John, Gentleman* is less intensely emotional than that of *The Virginia Comedians,* though there is a mysterious misunderstanding between Bonnybel Vane and Henry St. John, the two lovers, that sends both of them into a temporary decline.

Though the principal character, Champ Effingham, of *Virginia Comedians* appears in *Henry St. John,* he is no longer even a subsidiary character; nor is his young son Paul, though there is a suggestion of a future union between the latter and "Blossom" Waters, the little daughter of Charles Waters and Beatrice Hallam. *Henry St. John* is therefore, a sequel to the *Virginia Comedians* principally through the re-appearance of Patrick Henry and Charles Waters.

The Rebels.[3]

In the preface to Lydia M. Child's *Rebels* or *Boston before the Revolution,* she tells us that her purpose is to recall to men's minds those strenuous days of glory which were then almost forgotten. She has uttered what has proved to be a more resounding truth than she knew:

"America is now vigorous and majestic. We hear her youthful cry of freedom echoed by the far off nations."

The utter disbelief of the British in the seriousness of the situation is contrasted with the earnestness, even mob violence, of the colonial populace. Lawlessness is deprecated, however, by the leaders on both sides. In the Boston Massacre, the British are represented as having been taunted by the colonials into firing without orders.

[3] Lydia M. Child, *The Rebels.* Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1825.

The expression of political opinion is vital and animated, the words of Otis seeming a part of his own lightning-tipped speeches.

Grace Osborn, who at first is neutral to the cause, says, "I had no idea the citizens of Boston could utter sounds so terrific as those we heard to-night."

"It would be well if their echo could reach across the Atlantic," her brother, an ardent patriot, answers.

Somerville, an Englishman, inquires almost insolently, "And what would be heard, if they did?"

"Liberty and property! No stamps!" Henry declares emphatically.

"Then you are among the unhappy men who encourage popular outrage and will thus drive the mother country to severity repugnant to her," sneers Somerville.

"You talk, sir, as many others do, who know nothing of the subject. You mistake the unanimous voice of a free people for the factious zeal of a few office-seeking demagogues," Henry retorts (pp. 9-10).

The impassioned parts of Otis' speech are here given:

"England may as well dam up the waters of the Nile as to fetter the step of freedom, more proud and firm in this youthful land than where she treads the sequestered glens of Scotland or couches herself among the magnificent mountains of Switzerland. . . .

"We have plunged into the wave with the Magna Charta of freedom in our teeth because the fagot and the torch were behind us. . . .

"The flame of liberty is extinguished in Greece and Rome, but the light of its glowing embers is still bright and strong on the shores of America. Actuated by its sacred influence, we will resist unto death. But we will not countenance anarchy and misrule" (p. 43-45).

Samuel Adams appears as the high-minded citizen, endangering his own life to keep law and order. Letters from Lucretia Fitzherbert, the heroine, who has gone to England to be the

heiress of the Fitzherbert estate, tell of Edmund Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the literary men of the day.

The story is admirable for the sympathetic interpretation of both Tory and Whig views. It abounds in romantic material—changed babies, a witch, hidden treasure, an heiress in disguise, and an interrupted wedding—and has a strong plot in Lucretia Fitzherbert's love affairs. The treatment, however, is realistic and the character-drawing good, though perhaps Somerville, Molly Bradstreet, and Grace Osborn are too intense for anything but the conventional villain, witch, and broken-hearted maiden of romantic fiction. Lucretia Fitzherbert is a strong heroine for the period of her creation and, wonder of wonders, has a "plain face." Governor Hutchinson's library and the dwelling of Townsend, the miser, are well described. A practical joke of the young Whigs on the influential Tories is enacted with much humor at the miser's house. Best of all, *The Rebels* is permeated with the spirit of its time.

The Refugee.[4]

The Refugee, by Captain Matthew Murgatroyd, of the Ninth Continentals in the Revolutionary War, besides being of special interest because its author was a participant in the action he describes, is important because of its emphasis on the training in self-government of America's "yeomanry." A feeling of irritation against class distinction may also be perceived in the following:

"Throughout the colonies the people were in the habit of holding popular meetings and discussing the grievances of which they complained, passing upon them in language not always the most smooth and courtly. . . . These meetings were more generally attended by the middling order of yeomanry, the higher class lacking not this mode to give publicity to their sentiments. Here sets of Resolves were passed, not

[4] Captain Matthew Murgatroyd, *The Refugee.* New York: Wilder & Campbell; D. Fanshaw, Printer, 1825.

the less dangerous to the Royal cause because emanating from plebeian breasts" (I, 76).

The account of a Tory gathering has a spice of humor:

"It was resolved in a meeting of the true and faithful subjects of his Majesty, King George III, held at the *Seven Stars,* that the Reverend Zebulon Zachary, being a clergyman of the church of England, and as such bound to pray for his said Majesty, the head of the true church, and having neglected so to do, otherwise than by irreverently naming his sovereign in a petition to the throne of Grace for the restoration of sundry civil rights, alleged to be withheld, and for God's vengeance on all evil doers (meaning his said Majesty)—and further, having added to the Litany 'from Lord North, Lord Greville, Bute, and the devil, O Lord deliver us!' Be it resolved that said Zebulon Zachary be dismissed from the ministry of the church" (I, 78).

The cause of the war is ascribed to England's jealousy of the rapidly growing commerce and independent strength of the colonies:

"The first intimation of the designs to check the growth of the colonies and blast their prosperity was given soon after the Report of the Board of Trade in 1731. The valor and resolution displayed in the various expeditions into the Acadian and other French possessions by the Americans, especially the Virginia line, were so conspicuous that the rulers of Britain thought it necessary to adopt measures which should delay, if not prevent, our approach to a dangerous degree of strength and grandeur" (I, 73).

The setting is around New York, particularly, Long Island, and the main action is confined almost wholly to the Tories, who, after joining the king's regulars, are so incensed at the arrogance of the English officers toward themselves, as well as towards the colonials in general, that they resign from the army and depart for England. The story is told in the garrulous way of an old soldier. The love-theme is less important than the career of young Gilbert Greaves. He first joins the king's

army because of his father's Tory principles; then, after he has thought out his own opinions, with the help of honest Whigs, and, in addition, has become enraged by the burning of Tory property and the insulting of his sweetheart by the English, he deserts to Washington's camp and fights with the patriots. He is captured by the British while he is protecting his father, a Tory officer, from the colonials, is court-martialed as a spy and about to be shot, but is saved by Washington's affidavit to the contrary. Finally, he is given his freedom, on parole, and, after marrying Ellen Keith, the girl he rescued from the English general, sets sail for the British Isles, followed by both his father and Colonel Keith.

The Green Mountain Boys.[5]

In *The Green Mountain Boys,* "the classic of Vermont," the Vermonters are first presented, under the leadership of Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, and Captain Warrington, fighting for their boundary lines with the Yorkers. But this forms merely the training ground for the great struggle for independence.

Ethan Allen's vigorous address to his followers on the outbreak of the American Revolution but gives expression to their own hardy love of freedom and hatred of oppression:

"Have you so long, so nobly, so triumphantly resisted arbitrary power in the shape of little tyrants near home, to submit now to the lawless dictations of great ones from abroad. . . . Can you now look idly on, and see a hireling soldiery swarming your country, enforcing the accursed requisitions of their masters at the point of the bayonet, shooting down your countrymen and brothers by scores, as if they were wild beasts, for exercising but the rights which God and nature have given them?" (p. 168).

[5] Daniel Pierce Thompson, *The Green Mountain Boys.* Montpelier: E. P. Walton, 1839; New York: J. W. Lovell Company, 1882. I have used the latter edition.

Under the idolized leadership of Ethan Allen, two hundred and thirty Green Mountain Boys, re-inforced by some Massachusetts and Connecticut volunteers, were about to proceed to the capturing of Fort Ticonderoga, when Arnold suddenly appeared and in arrogant manner demanded the command of the men, under orders of the Massachusetts Committee of Safety. The Green Mountain Boys promptly refused the leadership of any but Ethan Allen. When it was found that Arnold's commission read "authorized to *raise* troops and march them to the reduction of Ticonderoga," Arnold withdrew his demand gracefully, and insisted on joining the expedition, if only in the capacity of a common soldier. Ethan Allen thereupon made him his aid-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, and summoned him "to go on together like brothers, in the cause of God and the people."

When Captain La Place is roused from his slumbers by Ethan Allen's demand to surrender, we have the famous historical quotation:

"By what authority do you make this bold demand of His Majesty's fort, Sir?"

"By what authority?" thundered Allen, "I demand it, sir, in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" (p. 214).

The doings of the Green Mountain Boys form the main interest, though the double love-story of Alma Hendee and Jessy Reed is strong enough to give the romantic touch. The most interesting character is the backwoodswoman, Mistress Story, the "Juno of the Green Mountains," who keeps her hardy brood of nine in "T'other World," a cave dug-out, extending from under her house to the river.

The Linwoods.[6]

In the patriotic utterances of *The Linwoods,* there is something more than the resistance to England's political tyranny;

[6] Catherine M. Sedgwick, *The Linwoods.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835.

there is a stirring of the question of social and economic equality which arose more noticeably later, at the time Mrs. Sedgwick was writing, though its murmurings were heard even in colonial times:

"We were contending for national independence,—for the right and power to make the last and best experiment of popular government," sounds inadequate now. But there is a prophetic threat in the following: "The Divinity is stirring within men, and the policy and power of these false gods who fancy they have a charter and transmitted right to all the good things of this fair world, shall fall before it, as Dagon fell prostrate before the Ark of the Lord." It might have been the call to arms of the people of the world in the World-War. The note of social equality is struck in the words:

"The time is at hand when the truth that all men are made in the image of God and therefore all have equal rights and equal duties, will not only be acknowledged in our prayers and churchyards, but will be the basis of government and of public as well as private intercourse."

A somewhat different cause from that usually given, or at least, a Yankee way of putting it, of the War of Independence, is expressed in the following:

"We have not been goaded to resistance by oppression nor fretted and chafed with bits and collars to madness; but our sages, bold with the transmitted spirit of freedom, sown broadcast by our Pilgrim fathers, having reflected on the past and calculated the future, and having coolly estimated the worth of independence and the right of self-government, are willing to hazard all in the hope of gaining all."

The Tories and the Whigs are again contrasted, as in *The Rebels,* but not so impartially. The Tories in *The Linwoods* are much less convincing than their political opponents. The colonials are all life-like, from Washington, who suffers with his destitute, starving soldiers, to the patriotic country folk, living without complaint on their scanty larder. The rich repasts of Governor Clinton and his guests affront every loyal-minded son

of the soil. To one of these farmers, whose whole family has fallen a victim, from insufficient food, to chills and fevers, Lafayette plays the chivalric benefactor. Mrs. Washington makes her debut in fiction, takes under her wing Isabella Linwood and Lady Anne, and arranges for the latter's wedding with young Linwood. General Antony Wayne and General Putnam are also picturesque figures in the story. The entrance of Washington and his ragged regimentals into New York, the lowering of the British flag, and the departure of the scarlet-and-gold-clad Britishers form an impressive scene. At the evacuation of the British, the Tory, Mr. Linwood, sighs, "We ne'er shall look upon their like again."

His colored servant, Rose, whom he has freed, mutters prophetically, "This ain't to be the land for them that strut in scarlet broad-cloth and gold epaulets and live upon the sweat of working people's brows. No, thank God — and General Washington!" (II, 278).

An amusing incident of journalistic by-play is given where Major General Putnam presents his compliments to Major General Robertson and sends him some American newspapers to peruse for himself and then to send to Rivington "so that he may print the truth." Rivington was not only the editor of the Tory newspaper, but also the supposed author of the abusive, dramatic polemics, *A Cure for the Spleen* and *The Battle of Brooklyn.*

The Linwoods seems to be our first real novel of manners, for *The Power of Sympathy,* 1789, attributed to Sara Wentworth Morton, *Charlotte Temple,* 1790, by Susana Rowson, and *The Coquette,* 1797, by Hannah Foster, the first and third in letter-form, modeled after Richardson's *Pamela,* are mere intrigue, scandal, and sentimental twaddle; and Sam. Ben. Judah's *The Buccaneers,* has only two or three episodic portrayals of Old Dutch customs. *The Linwoods* is probably the first American novel which shows, to any considerable extent, the influence of Jane Austen, whose novels, though written 1796-1810, were not published till 1811-1816 and were slow in winning readers.

Not only do we learn the humble daily routine of the Lees in the country, the trivial rounds of the well-to-do Tories, but also the vivacious flirtations of Lady Anne and the seductive languishment of the Ruthven girls. The wretched lot of the half-witted Kisel in a Tory prison is realistically described and also the trusted patriot, Lizzie Begin, with her parrot, and her penny-shop. The scarcity of food is graphically summed up in the price of butter and eggs—the former, a dollar a pound; the latter, three for a shilling. The most unusual character is Bessie Lee who starts out to be a second Ophelia—with livelier adventures, however,—in the losing her mind after she knows that Jasper Meredith was merely amusing himself with her. Her convalescence and final complete recovery from a mental and physical decline point forward however to the hardier heroines of our own day. *The Linwoods* holds an interesting place in American fiction besides picturing with spirit all classes of the community during the struggle for independence and the voluntary acceptance of hardships by our forefathers.

Seventy-Six.[7]

As one of the earliest works of fiction, probably the first novel, to reflect contemporary criticism of the management of the Revolutionary War, *Seventy-Six* deserves mention here. Clinton, a wounded soldier, supposed to be close to Washington, when the advisability of change of generals is being considered and Lee is suggested as a possible successor to Washington, heatedly declares:

"Lee is a tyrant—an aristocrat—and if they that wish to see him in the place of George Washington will put him there, I will answer for his being King Charles the First before three campaigns are over. No, Sir—neither he nor Granny Gates is the man to lead our armies. They are fighting for themselves—Washington, for us. . . . God is with George Washington" (I, 79).

[7] John Neal, *Seventy-Six.* Baltimore: J. Robinson; Frederick, Md.: J. Robinson & Co., 1823.

But Jonathan Oadley, the narrator of the story, though he reveres Washington as much as Clinton reveres him, criticises Congress when it later makes the general absolute:

"Congress was now sitting in Baltimore; and one of their first movements was to declare George Washington supreme and independent, as commander of our armies and manager of the war—nay to declare him little less than a military dictator.

"They were wrong. They deserved to be tumbled from their seats for it. At first they were so niggardly and dastardly in their grants—so bountiful in their limitations and restrictions and qualifications and conditions, that he was little less than a nominal commander, incapable of exercising any discretion but at the peril of court martial. And now they put into his hands the sword and the purse—and the law—at one and the same moment. They betrayed their trust. They behaved unwisely—and through it gave to George Washington's virtue, the last trial—the trial of fire—yet the men that put him to the proof, deserved to be trampled to the earth—bound hand and foot, and driven over by the iron chariot of despotism. It was no virtue of theirs—no want of power or opportunity in Washington—nothing but his own sublime and heroic disdain of crowns and sceptres . . . which prevented him from being a King in the land backed by the whole power of Great Britain" (I, p. 249).

The intensity of the feeling about tea, just before the outbreak of the war, is illustrated by the elder Jonathan's wrath when he discovers his wife about to go a-tea-drinking to a neighbor's:

"Woman, while you are my wife, not one cup of tea shall pass your lips unless the Confederacy be abandoned" (p. 20).

"High times, indeed!" his wife answered. "High times indeed! Jonathan Oadley, when a body cannot be allowed to take a drop of tea for medicine." . . .

"A drop of hell fire!" cried her husband stamping with wrath. "A woman of America! the wife of Jonathan Oadley—whose husband has signed a paper with his own blood, calling down the anger of God upon his house and his wife and his

children, if he kept it not—shall she be the first to laugh his obligation to scorn—give his household to destruction, and her husband's name to dishonour? O for shame!" (p. 21).

Seventy-Six is a mixture of Irving and Brown: It is like Irving in its purporting to be the autobiography of one Jonathan Oadley; like Brown, in the Gothic character of the romance, with its melancholy hero and sensational incidents. The outrages of war, its horrors in bloody detail, and the sufferings at Valley Forge are depicted emotionally. Archibald Oadley, the younger brother of Jonathan, is a true Brown hero in his spiritual exaltation and secret murders and has a distinct cast of the poet-warrior type. Though gentle and reserved in disposition, and frail in health, he it is who fires the whole household with patriotic zeal to enlist in Washington's army. Yet he recoils from his manifold killings and says, "I am weary of the trade of blood." The setting is principally in New Jersey, though it follows the campaigns in Delaware and around New York and Philadelphia.

The Partisan.[8]

In *The Partisan* the patriot losses in 1780, in South Carolina, are attributed to two causes: the division among the people themselves in loyalty—most of the older generation being either strongly Tory or at least neutral — and the inability of the patriots of the upper class to recognize the strength and courage of the ill-clad swamp volunteers and to fight side by side with them.

Kate Walton answers for the younger generation in regard to George III:

"No monarch of mine, if you please. I care not a straw for him and don't understand, and never could, your divine rights, and your established and immutable system of human government" (p. 136).

[8] William Gilmore Simms, *The Partisan.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1835.

The courage and strategy of Marion are contrasted with the pettiness and incompetence of Gates who sends Marion's brave tatterdemalions back to the swamp because of their starved and ragged appearance:

"General Gates partook largely of the spirit which circulated so freely in his army; and the uncouth accoutrements, the bare feet, and the tattered garments of the motley assemblage of men and boys, half-armed, which the Swamp Fox had brought with him to do the battles of liberty, provoked his risibility along with that of the troops. The personal appearance of Marion himself, was as little in his favor. Diffident even to shyness, there was little that was prepossessing in his manners. He was awkward and embarrassed in the presence of strangers: and though singularly cool and collected with the necessity of danger, he was hardly the man to command the favorable consideration of a superficial judge—one of mediocre ability, such as General Gates undoubtedly was. The very contrast between the two men, in physical respects, was enough for the latter. Built himself on a superb scale, the movement, the look, the deportment of Gates all bespoke the conscious great man. Marion, on the other hand, small in person, lame of a leg, with a downcast eye, and hesitating manners, was a cipher in the estimation of the more imposing personage" (p. 243).

The utter defeat and heavy loss of Gates' army in the battle of Camden brought its lesson to its overconfident commander.

Major Singleton, one of Marion's men, is the principal character. His swamp warfare and incidental love-making comprise the main interest. The minor characters of *The Partisan* belong to the romantic school: there are a maniac, a witch, and her deformed son, Goggle Blonay. Another character—that of Lance Frampton—deserves mention. He, like the later hero of *The Red Badge of Courage,* shows the youth's reaction to war. At first he is fearful of being a coward; then, after, with unerring aim, he has killed his first foe, a blood-thirsty villain who has been hanging all his prisoners of war, a flood of remorse overwhelms him: "It makes one feel very strange, sir, to feel

that I have killed a man. . . . What would poor Mother say if she were alive" (p. 391)? Later, however, new emotions surge through the incipient warrior, "that rapture of the strife which was the Hun's passion. . . . He could destroy—and he could do so without his own rebuke. He could take the life of his fellow and good men could approve" (p. 399). Captain Porgy, too, "the most truly comic character ever produced by this school of American romance," [9] begins his career here.

The *Partisan* is one of the Revolutionary War trilogy [10] in which are grouped *Mellichampe* and *Katherine Walton,* by the same author.

As the Colonial Period shows the transference of power from English King to English Parliament, achieved in England through the bloodless revolution of 1688-1689, and accomplished in the colonies, through similar means, immediately after, so the Revolutionary Period depicts the struggle in America to wrest from the British Parliament its sovereignty over the American Colonies and, with the success of the American Revolution, to appoint, as guardians of that state sovereignty—the American people.

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[9] Carl Van Doren, *The American Novel.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921, p. 63.

[10] Later supplemented by three more revolutionary novels—*The Scout* (1841), *The Forayers* (1855), and *Eutaw* (1856), and a "comic afterpiece," *Woodcraft* (1853).

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Modern Chivalry.[1]

With popular government achieved, the Yankee began to study his experiment. *Modern Chivalry* is that study. It was written by Hugh Brackenridge, who also wrote one of our first dramas, *The Battle of Bunker Hill.* It is not only our first novel of satire, but our first picaresque novel as well. It is an American compromise between Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and Butler's *Hudibras,* with a certain French flavor of Montesquieu's *Persian Letters.* It is a burlesque of political, religious, and educational institutions of the author's own time, amusing and interesting in the incidents; tiresome in its reflections and lectures. Teague O'Reagan and his master, Captain Farrago, wander around the country, not in the search of adventures, but in the reception of them, nevertheless, because of Teague's ingratiating disposition, gift of blarney, and absolute unconsciousness of his own limitations.

Teague's first excitement is to nominate himself for the legislature and have the populace elect him. The captain bribes

[1] Hugh Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry or The Adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague O'Reagan.* Published in parts: 1792, 1792, 1793, 1797, 1804, 1805. Philadelphia: J. M'Culloch, 1792-1797.—Philadelphia: Getz & Buck, 1851. I have had to use several editions, no one of which was an exact copy of the other. The difficulty was due to the publication of the work in parts, not only from 1792-1805, but also to the incompleteness of later editions for which the author's generosity was probably at fault, as he states:

"Five booksellers have made a fortune by it; for I have never asked a cent from any of them for the privilege of printing an edition."

See Chap. I, Note 14.

him to forego his political aspirations and then moralizes on the ignorance of legislators:

"There is no need of a conjuror to tell why it is that the common people are more disposed to trust one of their own class, than those who may affect to be superior. . . . There is a kind of creating power exerted in making a senator of an unqualified person; which, when the author has done, he exults over the work, and like the Creator himself, when he made the world, sees that 'it is very good.' Moreover, there is in every government a patrician class, against whom the spirit of the multitude naturally militates; and hence a perpetual war, the aristocrats endeavouring to detrude the people and the people contending to obtrude themselves. And it is right it should be so; for, by this fermentation the spirit of democracy is kept alive" (I, p. 37).

The next satire is against the Philosophical Society, which is the object, again and again, of his bitterest attacks. The finding of a large owl causes the captain to be offered membership in the society. When the captain refuses, on the ground of unworthiness, the honor is transferred to Teague, who has no such scruples. He is dissuaded from accepting it, however, by his master's reciting the dangers and difficulties of the duties entailed:

"You must go into wolves' dens; run over mountains like a catamount, and dig the earth like a ground hog. You will have to climb over trees and be bit by the flying squirrels. . . . You must work for the honor of the thing and find your own food and clothing. Who knows but it may become your turn, in a windy night, to go aloft to the heavens to rub down the stars and give fodder to the goats and rams? The keeping the stars clean and bright is a laborious work. There is a bull there that would think no more of tossing you on his horns than he would a puppy dog. If the crab should get you into his claws, he would squeeze you like a lobster" (p. 46).

Teague then proceeds to win favor with the members of the Presbytery, applies for admission to the ministry and is being

seriously considered, much to the dismay of the Captain, when he is brought to his senses by the captain's vivid account of an unremunerated war with the devil. Complete ignorance is hereupon ironically advocated by the author, as a qualification for office of statesmen, philosophers, and ecclesiastes.

Overtures to the Captain to make Teague, because of his ability to speak Irish, an Indian chief, King of the Kickapoos, follow from an Indian treaty-maker, who thus lays bare for the first time in our literature the frauds practised upon the Indians by government agents:

"The treaty will not last longer than a couple of weeks; and as the government will probably allow three or four thousand dollars for the treaty, it will be in our power to make it worth your while to spare him for that time. . . . It has been a policy of the government to treat with these and distribute goods. Commissioners are appointed for that purpose. Now you are not to suppose that it is an easy matter to catch a real chief, and bring him from the woods; or, if at some expense one was brought, the goods would go to his use; whereas it is much more profitable to hire substitutes and make chiefs of our own. And as some unknown gibberish is necessary to pass for an Indian language, we generally make use of Welsh, or Low Dutch, or Irish. The commissioners will doubtless be glad to see us, and procure from the government an allowance for the treaty. For the more treaties, the more use for commissioners. The business must be kept up, and the treaties made, if there are none of themselves. My Piankasha and Choctow chiefs are very good fellows, the one of them a Scotch pedlar that talks the Erse; the other had been some time in Canada and has a little broken Indian, I know not of what language. If your man is tractable, I can make him a Kickapoo in nine days. . . . He must have part of his head shaved and painted with feathers on his crown" (pp. 72-74).

As Teague himself is not at all enamoured with the idea of becoming an Indian, the Captain has little fear of his retainer's deserting him for the charms of savage life.

When not bothered by Teague's adventures, the Captain moralizes much, and on one of these occasions gives a unique explanation for the diversity of color in the human race:

"I am of opinion that Adam was a tall, straight limbed, red-haired man, with a fair complexion, blue eyes, and an aquiline nose; and that Eve was a negro woman" (p. 140).

Is the author adding still another misfortune to Eve's list, or is he satirizing his pusillanimous brethren for laying so many upon her?

Teague suddenly disappears, and the Captain, in his search for the Irishman, goes to Congress and gives a most entertaining account of the ignorance and patent-medicine oratory manifested there. The college is next sought for news of Teague, for the Captain fears that a newly-appointed professor of Greek is his mercurial servant. Such is not the case, however, and the satire on the college is modified somewhat, for the new incumbent of the Greek professorship is found to be fully credentialled and knows "Craike very well," though he speaks with an Irish brogue. Teague is found at last, on the stage, from which he escapes because of getting into trouble through his habit of promiscuous love-making. When the law is invoked by the Captain for keeping Teague in constraint, the tedium of legal prosecution is arraigned.

On account of Teague's promising qualities, the Captain is exhorted to coach him for political life. The philosophic master, realising Teague's embodiment of the popular ideals for a legislator, consents, and begins his servant's training by putting him in the hands of a French dancing master and then making him attend all the debates of Congress. His diplomatic life consists in winning the favor of the ladies, who style him "Major O'Reagan." He oversteps the mark, as usual, and is banished, but is soon given the position of exciseman. This last is also his undoing, for the people mob him, before he even begins his duties, then tar and feather him and send him away.

Teague hides in the forest but is found by strangers and exhibited, in his tar-feather paraphernalia, in a cage, as a bird-

animal curiosity. Two members of the Philosophic Society, having heard of this *rara avis,* come to investigate and report copiously to their colleagues, classifying it as *Anthroposornis* or man-bird. On the strength of this report, after a jury has decided that Teague is an animal of the brute, not human, kind, the Philosophical Society buys him from his keeper and ships him immediately to France to undergo a more searching examination from the society's foreign members.

"As for Teague, on landing at Nantz, and being, in fact a *sans culotte,* he was at once set free by the mob or *canailles,* forwarded with éclat to Paris, and introduced to the Jacobin clubs as a primitive savage of that Golden Age described by Jean Jacques Rousseau" (Vol. II, p. 14, 1853 edition).

After being much distinguished during the first part of Robespierre's reign, Teague came to grief for wearing the cast-off apparel of some executed noble and was confined in the revolutionary prison, expecting any minute to be sent to the guillotine. At the downfall of Robespierre's regime, however, Teague was released and, after many hardships, found his way to America where he rejoined the Captain—who had been staying on his farm, meanwhile, putting his fences in order—in the continuation of his travels.

Another tilt against the mistakes of democracy is suggested when a mob is reported as attempting to burn down a college because "all learning was a nuisance enabling some men to know more than others, and therefore against the democratic principle of equality."

Teague refuses various positions and accepts others with diverse embarrassing results until the Captain, finding himself *persona non grata,* sets out with the bogtrotter, a blind lawyer, the fiddler Tom the tinker, and others of like characater, for a new settlement near the head of the Ohio River. After passing through such villages as Lack-Learning, Mad-Cap Democrats, and Backbiters, a settlement is reached "where the inhabitants are a very happy people, no demagogues having yet arisen among them to propel to licentiousness, as for instance

to propose agrarian laws or an equality of goods and chattels; or to excite them to contention among themselves, or to war with foreign powers, in order that they may acquire military renown" (Vol. II, Part III: p. 222).

The political history of the United States is summarized from 1790, when the "aristocracy obtained the ascendancy," through 1798, when "democracy prevailed" and retained the administration five years. Opinions on vital issues, such as the immediate naturalization of the immigrant, are expounded and Tom Paine's ideas commented upon. Montesquieu's conception of the different bases of a republic, a monarchy, and a despotism is contradicted with the statement, "All government must be founded in fear."

As the moral of the book is "the evil of men seeking office for which they are not qualified" that weakness of democracy is harped upon again and again, not only in the incongruity of Teague's being offered every conceivable office, but also in the burlesquing of all elections and appointments by having a monkey appointed clerk of the court and a dog, a wolf, and a fox presented for admission to the bar.

The editor's preface to *Modern Chivalry,* written in 1846, more than fifty years after the first publication, tells us something of the author and his purpose and of the popularity of the work in the early nineteenth century:

"He had no equal in this country in the versatility of his genius. But that which claims a higher praise, he was an honest man, a patriot sincerely attached to his country and its democratic institutions. An enlightened democracy was looked upon by him as the true nobility. The aim of his writing was to raise the standard of democracy. . . . The people themselves, as the great fountain of power, were to be instructed and indoctrinated in the true principles of liberty. . . . He believed that a popular work like the present, was the best means of diffusing correct ideas of government. The satire is directed against ignorance and the presumption and arrogance of ignorance."

The editor's estimate of the book is interesting, since *Modern Chivalry* is almost unknown to the average reader of to-day:

"As a literary production, *The Adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague,* has great merit. It has become a part of American literature as much as *Don Quixote* of the literature of Spain. A thousand original expressions, thoughts and allusions derived from it are in daily use. . . . A proof of the author's success in his design is that the work is chiefly confined to reading mechanics, farmers, and others, while it is comparatively rare to find it in the hands of the literati. It is best known in the western states where it first appeared. It is regarded as an imitation of *Don Quixote;* it belongs distinctly to the age of Swift, Butler, Defoe, Fielding, and Smollett."

That "it will be placed among the masterpieces of human genius" as its editor says, is hardly possible; that it is our first novel of democracy in that it holds up to derision ignorance in people, institutions, and State, cannot be contested.

But the New Republic was not permitted to occupy herself long with criticising, as in *Modern Chivalry,* her mistakes in democracy. Instead she had to uphold her right to protect her citizens upon the high seas—to wage her second war of independence.

A Herald of the West.[2]

A spirited novel of democracy as well as an excellent historical novel, *A Herald of the West,* by Joseph A. Altsheler, is a record of the years 1811-1815. The South and West are represented as eager to punish the arrogance of England, but New England, so dauntless in the Revolutionary War, now hangs back—she has temporarily sold her birthright for a mess of pottage—and is unwilling that her great commerce be imperilled.

In vain Clay appeals to the Senate:

"What is the strife of England and Bonaparte, the reckless

[2] Joseph A. Altsheler, *A Herald of the West.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898.

ambitions of each to rule the world, to us? Why should we be dragged into it when we ask for nothing but to be let alone and to build up our nation as we see fit? To France we may owe some debt of gratitude, but not to Bonaparte. To England we owe nothing but distrust. To what do kindred blood and common laws and language amount, when we have endured nothing from her for half a life time but insults and wrongs? . . . She has plundered and confiscated our ships on every sea, though there is no war between us. Thousands of our sailors, taken from their own vessels by superior force, are serving on hers. Her war-fleets keep watch at the entrance to every port of this country and rob our merchant vessels at their leisure, adding to the wrong, every circumstance of arrogance and insult that a strong nation can devise for a weak one. . . . A man who endures one wrong, only prepares to endure another. . . . We have tried protests, embargoes, and every device but the sword, and all have failed. . . . I tell you, gentlemen, there is nothing left but the sword and we must try its edge if we are not to be crushed" (pp. 2-6).

Sent on a tour through Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and the rural districts of New England, the hero, Philip Ten Broeck, a clerk to the Secretary of the Treasury, Gallatin, is detailed to plumb the commercial resistance to the war. Much to his indignant amazement, his inquiries in regard to two British vessels, the *Leander* and the *Guerriere,* twenty miles outside the harbor of New York, are thus answered:

"They are here to find out where all American vessels are going, and also they search them to take out of them any American sailors that they want. I've seen them with as many as half a dozen of our ships at once halted under their guns to be searched" (p. 139).

Not even when the landsman John Deguyo, a passenger on the *Spitfire,* is impressed, is there a declaration of war. Not till after the *Little Belt* had deliberately fired upon the *President,* is the country ready to take up arms, and then it is unprepared. Fortune favors us, however, on the sea, where Great Britain least expected it:

"In six or eight months our little navy of twenty against their thousand had captured or sunk more ships of theirs than all the navies of France, Holland, Denmark and Spain combined had been able to take from them in twenty years of incessant fighting" (p. 227).

The story, told in the first person by Ten Broeck, takes place mostly in Washington, though he is sent on official business both North and West and South and finally takes part in the Battle of New Orleans which is graphically described. The sacking of Washington and the destruction of the Capitol is also narrated by the hero as a humiliated eye witness.

The Patience of John Morland.[3]

The entrance of the power of the West into American politics, the consequent levelling of class distinctions and the downfall of the legislative aristocracy, the supremacy of the people's representative in the person of the idolized hero of New Orleans, Andrew Jackson, the doings of his "Yankee Doodle Court," the influence of Kitty McCabe, otherwise Peggy O'Neill, and her mother, in party politics, and the opposition of Clay—"Tall Harry of the Slashes"—Webster, and Calhoun, are all recorded in this political novel, laid in Washington, 1821-1830.

Clay's inopportune speech censuring Jackson's conduct of the Seminole War is reported to the General at a dinner in his honor and rouses the vindictive ire, never afterwards entirely placated, of "Old Hickory" against Henry Clay. Afterwards, Clay himself questions the wisdom of his criticism and goes to Mother McCabe for consolation and advice. He says, "People accuse me of being just now in opposition, all because Adams was made Secretary of State instead of me. I wonder if the people are right?" (p. 17).

Mrs. McCabe answers sadly and rebukingly, with the sympathy of a woman, but with the astuteness of a politician:

[3] Mary Dillon, *The Patience of John Morland.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909.

"Ah, Harry, Harry, I am afraid the people are not entirely wrong. And it's not quite worthy of you, and not at all wise. Of course, making Adams Secretary of State put him in the line of succession, but all the more should you keep on friendly terms with him. For if he is to be the next President, then who is so obviously his Secretary of State—unless you antagonize him—as yourself? And there you are—in the direct line—heir presumptive! But whatever you do to the Administration, I wish you would let 'Old Hickory' alone; for in fighting against him you antagonize a greater than the Administration; you antagonize the people! The Seminole War is over, and no one doubts that General Jackson acted as he believed to be right, and his mistakes, if he made any, were of the head and not of the heart. Much should be forgiven to the old chief who won us such laurels at New Orleans, and any strictures of his conduct come with a peculiarly ill grace from a framer of the Treaty of Ghent! Without the victory of New Orleans, that treaty would have been very ill received at home and would have put the country in a very unenviable position abroad" (pp. 19-20).

Later, in the campaign of 1824-25, when Clay himself is no longer a candidate for the presidency but is recognized as the king-maker, overtures are made to him by the friends of all three of the leading candidates, Adams, Jackson, and Crawford. Clay is hotly indignant:

"The Knaves cannot comprehend how a man can be honest! They cannot conceive that I should have solemnly interrogated my conscience and asked it to tell me seriously what I ought to do. . . . They all have yet to learn my character if they suppose it possible to make me swerve from my duty by any special bribery or intimidation!" (p. 182).

Then follows an estimate of Clay's character:

"Clay was right in his estimate of his own character. His political integrity was absolutely unassailable. . . . Yet, so involved and convoluted are the mental processes of even an honest and straight forward man as Clay believed himself to be,

that he came up to the great day of the election serenely unconscious that the fact of Adams' being an Eastern man had anything to do with the decision he had arrived at. He felt himself to be on an exalted plane far above the reach of all baser motives. He was not to be moved by the appeal that Jackson was virtually the choice of the people and the darling of the West, his own section; if he was ignoring the demands of his constituents he but felt himself the more virtuous in refusing to yield his convictions to the arguments of expediency.

"Yet, in spite of his lofty ethical claims, Clay would not have been human, still less would he have been Clay, if he had not realized that this was his hour. He held in his grasp the destinies of the two men who had been for years his most formidable rivals; the one snatching from him the place of power he had so dearly coveted, the other sharing with him and eclipsing him in the idolatry of the people. This last he could not forgive. He might forgive Adams that he had taken from him the portfolio of State, the stepping-stone to the Presidency, but he could not forgive Jackson that in the campaign just ended, the roar of the guns of New Orleans had drowned his own rolling periods, and the flash of the hero's sword had dazzled the eyes of the people, for the time obscuring in its coruscations the figure of the brilliant orator, the well-loved and dashing 'Harry of the Slashes'" (pp. 182-183).

On election day, "The old Hall of Representatives was thronged to suffocation." There were: "Fair-haired, boyish-looking Randolph denouncing all measures and all men with shrill screams of invective; Clay, in the Speaker's chair, swaying men's minds at his will with his wonderful voice; Calhoun and Webster from their desks, stirring the English-speaking world to its foundations, the one by the keenness of his logic, the other by the matchless fire of his oratory" (p. 184).

When the votes were counted, Adams had thirteen, Jackson seven, Crawford four.

That night, at the levee given by President Monroe, Adams and Jackson met unexpectedly. "Jackson was the first to

recover himself. He stepped forward with the grace of a courtier, and extending his left hand said cordially, 'How do you do, Mr. Adams? I give you my left hand, for the right you see is devoted to the fair. I hope you are well, sir.'

"Mr. Adams returned the General's hearty grasp with a slack one, and said with chilling coldness, 'Very well, sir. I hope General Jackson is well?'

"'Anyone would think it was Jackson, the pioneer planter, the Indian Fighter, who was used to the ways of courts and diplomacy,' said Clay ruefully, 'and not Adams the old courtier and diplomat. He was as genial and gracious as Adams was stiff and cold; which is the more remarkable when you consider that he is the defeated one and Adams the victorious'" (pp. 195-196).

Adams's term was "the era of the 'Bargain and Corruption' cry." The people believed, wrongly it is thought now—that Clay had sold the presidency for the portfolio of State. What he did do, however, was to refuse to recognize the choice of the people clearly indicated to him to be Jackson. The people never forgave him. By their suffrage they repudiated him every time he was a candidate for the presidency.

In the election of 1828, the people had their will. Andrew Jackson was elected, and the West began to exert its influence in American politics.

Social levelling was also one of the effects of this western influence, exemplified in *The Patience of John Morland* by the career of Kitty McCabe, the beautiful, spirited daughter of a stag-hotel-keeper in Washington. After ten years of flirtations—with Van Buren and the English Ambassador, among others—she marries John Morland, Jackson's Secretary of War. From the day of her marriage with Morland, Kitty is called the "doom of the republic," for, on the cabinet ladies' refusal to call upon her, the President, through their husbands, demands that courtesy from them. Jackson, besides being a lifelong friend of Kitty's is especially sensitive to the treatment Kitty is receiving, for he believed his

wife had died, just before the celebration of his election, because of the calumnies heaped upon her. The minister from Holland is about to be sent home because of his wife's insult to Kitty, and finally, the whole cabinet is dissolved, in order to break the cabal against the beautiful, charming, but dangerous Mistress Morland. John Morland resigns first; then Van Buren; and the others follow. Morland is made Minister to Spain and Van Buren, in line for the Presidency, Minister to Great Britain.

When "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," was formally assured in this country, Americans, especially those that travelled, began to look abroad and contrast the oppression there with the freedom here.

The Bravo.[4]

The Bravo, and *The Headsman,* both by Cooper, mirror this attitude of Americans to expose violations of liberty in other countries. *The Bravo* is much the more interesting. In fact, it ranks next to *The Spy* and the *Last of the Mohicans,* of Cooper's novels, in its element of suspense. The story is laid in Venice, at the time she called herself a republic, though under a Doge and really ruled by the arbitrary decisions of the Council of Three. Oligarchy had superseded monarchy and was of even greater despotic power. Signor Gradenego, one of the Council of Three, is thus described:

"In short, he was an aristocrat; and no man had more industriously persuaded himself into the belief of all the dogmas that were favorable to his caste. He was a wonderful advocate of vested rights, for their possession was advantageous to himself; he was sensitively alive to innovations on usages and to vicissitudes in the history of families; nor was he backward, on occasion, in defending his opinions by analogues drawn from the decree of Providence."

[4] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Bravo.* Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1831.

The divine right of Kings had been changed, in other words, to the divine right of nobles. As a bravo was an assassin hired by others to kill people who were in their way, such a person was hated and feared as a public menace. But with this particular bravo, Jacopo, one is in sympathy long before the explanation of his rôle is revealed. He had accepted the position from the Council of Three—to execute their crimes under his own name—when he found it was the only way by which he could visit his poor old father, unjustly confined in prison and now out of his mind. Jacopo's struggling to free himself from the ever-tightening toils of the Three and his final beheading are tragic. The ruthlessness of the Three is vividly painted when they calmly sacrifice the Bravo for a crime of which he is entirely innocent and for which they themselves are wholly responsible. The only escape from such all-powerful oppression is death or exile. Jacopo experiences the one, but not before he has helped Donna Violetta and her lover to the other. A picturesque boat race, which is almost as dramatic as the chariot race in *Ben Hur,* and the annual ceremony of wedding the *Bride of the Sea* are attractive features of this Venetian story.

The Headsman.[5]

Berne, Switzerland, is the scene of *The Headsman.* Again we have the persecution of the poor—this time because of the rigidity of provincial customs, the iron-bound classification of human beings by which even the occupation from generation to generation is prescribed. When, as it happens in *The Headsman,* a mild-mannered man of gentle, sensitive disposition like Balthazar, must needs become a headsman, the draught of life is bitter indeed. Hopeless of freeing himself from his cruel office, he plans to save his children by an exchange of infants. As this bloody descent is in the male line first, and a stranger waif has been substituted for his son without arousing suspicion, the father feels secure about his

[5] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Headsman.* London: R. Bentley, 1833.

daughter. But he has reckoned without the ignominy with which people regard his position, enforced though it is. The girl Christine, who is beautiful and good, is about to be married, but the prospective groom knows nothing of the occupation of her father. Just before the contracts are signed, a drunken fool interrupts the ceremony to proclaim her a headsman's daughter, and the bridegroom, despite her beauty and worth, immediately renounces her. Again the only escape from the inevitable decrees of one's fellows is death or exile: the real son dies; the daughter goes with her foster brother to Genoa.

Simultaneous with her critical gaze abroad, America's glance was introspective. First of the wrongs that were perpetrated in the struggle for existence in a new land was that upon its original possessors, the Indians.

Hope Leslie.[6]

Massachusetts, in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, is the scene of *Hope Leslie,* by Catherine M. Sedgwick. The Indian is idealized, as by Cooper, and the attacks of the aborigines are reported as a just revenge for similar slaughter of the natives. They are represented as being driven from place to place, held as captives, even enslaved. Magawisca, daughter of the Pequod Chieftain Mononotto, though for a time a menial captive with her brother in the home of the Fletchers, may be regarded as the chief character in the novel, who successfully or unsuccessfully stands between her benefactors and harm. When, despite her desperate efforts to save Everill Fletcher from death, the tomahawk descends, she deliberately stands in the way and has her arm cut off, turning the murderous weapon away from Everill who is then allowed to escape. Her brother marries Faith Leslie, an English ward of the Fletchers who had been carried away as a little child by the Pequods and adopted into their tribe. The little white squaw loses her

[6] Catherine M. Sedgwick, *Hope Leslie.* New York: White, Galliher and White, 1827.

knowledge of English, is utterly miserable when brought back to civilization, and finally returns happily with her Indian brave to his people.

The Yemassee.[7]

In South Carolina, in the early part of the eighteenth century, *The Yemassee,* by William Gilmore Simms, takes place. Sanutee, "the well-beloved," the chief of the Yemassees, is the tragic hero of the story:

"In 1715, the Yemassees were in all their glory. They were politic and brave—a generous and gallant race. The whites had been welcomed at their first coming to their woods, and hospitably entertained; and gradually lost all their apprehensions, from the gentleness and forbearance of the red men. . . . We behold the log-house of the white man, rising up amid the thinned clump of woodland foliage, within hailing distance of the squat, clay hovel of the savage. Sometimes their smokes even united; and now and then the two, the European and his dusky guide, might be seen pursuing side by side and with the same dog upon the cold track of the affrighted deer or the yet more timorous turkey" (p. 3).

Lord Craven, Governor of Carolina, is held chiefly responsible for the change in the Indians from generous allies to vindictive foes, and he it is who, suspecting an uprising among the Yemassees, leads an expedition against them which practically exterminates the tribe, even though the savages themselves make the first surprise-attack. The corruption of the chief's only son, Occonestoga, by the strong drink of the whites, into a worthless, drunken savage who betrays his people, is pitiful. More memorable still is his death scene, one of the most weird and fearful in fiction, when, amid the execrations of his tribe, he is not only to be put to death but before that final punishment, is given over by his father to Opitchi-

[7] Wm. Gilmore Simms, *The Yemassee.* New York: Harper and Bros., 1835. I have used the edition of 1885. New York: J. W. Lovell & Co.

Manneyto and condemned to have his tribal mark cut out of his arm, thus depriving him of ever meeting his race in the Happy Hunting Grounds. In the midst of his superstitious terror, he is rescued, not from death, but from what to him is infinitely worse, the damnation of the savage, by his mother's hurling her tomahawk deep into his skull. The doom of the Yemassee was thus defeated. He would meet his mother in the Happy Valley, for the badge of the nation may not be removed from any but the living victim. Matiwan, the mother, is the idealized squaw, having the courage and humbleness of the Indian with the tenderness of the white.

The Deerslayer.[8]

The Last of the Mohicans.[9]

The Pathfinder.[10]

The Pioneers.[11]

The Prairie.[12]

Cooper's *Leather Stocking Series,* read in the order above given, not only follow the life from youth to old age of that brave, simple scout and man of the forests, Natty Bumpo, but also form a prose epic of our American Indian, idealized mainly in the characters of Chingachgook, Uncas, and Hard Heart. Susquesus, in the Littlepage Stories, *Satanstoe, The Chainbearer,* and *The Redskins,* might form a worthy fourth in this heroic band. Chingachgook in the *Last of the Mohicans,* with simple pathos, speaks for all Indians:

"My tribe is the grandfather of nations, but I am an unmixed man. The blood of chiefs is in my veins where it must stay forever. The Dutch landed and gave my people the fire-

[8] Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1841.
[9] Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1826.
[10] London: R. Bentley, 1840.
[11] New York: C. Wiley, 1823.
[12] Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Carey, 1827.

water; they drank until the Heaven and the Earth seemed to meet, and they foolishly thought they had found the Great Spirit. Then they parted with their land. Foot by foot they were driven back from the shores, until I that am Chief and a Sagamore have never seen the sun shine but through the trees, and have never visited the grave of my fathers."

The Last of the Mohicans is the best representative of Cooper's Indian group, not only because Uncas is the hero, but also because of the portrayal of Indian customs. *The Prairie,* on the other hand, though it adds another picture—that of Hard Heart—to our Indian portrait gallery, gives in bold outlines, vivid pictures of our hardy pioneers. Ishmael Bush, of vast, loosely-hung proportions, his seven huge "sledge-hammer" sons, and numerous daughters, and his fierce mate Esther, with her lion-hearted mother-love, stand out in the waving prairies, the progenitors of a strong race! Squatters' rights are thus enunciated by him:

"The air, the water, and the ground are free gifts to man, and no one has the power to portion them out in parcels. Man must drink and breathe and walk,—therefore each has a right to his share of the 'arth" (p. 85).

Noteworthy, too, is the death of the old trapper and probably the model from which Thackeray patterned the far more famous death of Colonel Newcome, more than a quarter of a century later, 1854-55:

"The old man, supported on either side by his friends, rose upright to his feet. For a moment he looked about him, as if to invite all in presence to listen . . . and then, with a fine military elevation of the head, and with a voice that might be heard in every part of that numerous assembly, he pronounced the word—

"'Here!'" (pp. 458-459).

Cooper's series commemorates Indian and frontier life, in New York and Westward, during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Nick of the Woods.[13]

Though the sub-title of the fourth edition of *Nick of the Woods,* by Robert Montgomery Bird, is *Adventures of Prairie Life,* and thus indicates a similarity to Cooper's *Prairie* in its pictures of pioneer life, the author's preface points out a difference in the treatment of the Indian:

"The purposes of the author in this book confined him to real Indians. He drew them as, in his judgment, they existed —and as, according to all observations, they still exist wherever not softened by cultivation,—ignorant, violent, debased, brutal: he drew them, too, as they appeared, and still appear in war— or the scalp-hunt—when all the worst deformities of the savage temperament receive their strongest and fiercest development."

Moreover, in the beginning of the preface, Bird acknowledges that it is to counteract the "poetical illusion thrown over the Indian character" by Chateaubriand and Cooper, and "to make his delineations as correct and true to nature as he could," that he has written *Nick of the Woods.*

The hero, Nick of the Woods, whom the Indians fear as the mysterious Jibbonainosay, is Nathan Slaughter, a Quaker, who, in revenge for the slaughter of his entire family by the savages, has become an almost crazed yet persistent scalp-hunter of the Indians, avenger of the deaths of his loved ones. The story begins in 1782, in Kentucky and centers around two cousin-lovers who have presumably, been disinherited by an uncle in favor of a rascal, Braxley. After many adventures among the Indians, Roland and Edith Forrester escape, through the aid of Nathan Slaughter; Braxley is killed; and his confederate, Doe, before he dies, produces the will making Roland and Edith joint heirs of their uncle's Virginia plantation.

[13] Robert Montgomery Bird, *Nick of the Woods.* Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1837. I have used the edition of 1856—London: Wand & Lock.

Ramona.[14]

More than fifty years after Cooper's earlier stories, Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* appeared, depicting the Indian in the nineteenth century, in California, principally. Here he has lost his savagery and is entirely a noble and romantic figure, the victim of predatory civilization. Mrs. Jackson intended to do for the Indian what Mrs. Stowe had done for the negro in *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* but she did her work so artistically that the romance surpasses the problem in interest. The hounding of the Indian from the face of the earth is there, however, and one sees it after the glamour of the love-story—a half-Indian, half-Scotch maiden loved by both an Indian and a Spaniard—has faded. Only the thought of the Indian millionaires, so tardily recompensed by Congress for the robbing of their forefathers, reconciles us to that "century of dishonor."

While the Aborigines of the forest were being pushed back from the Atlantic shores, forehanded Dutch colonists were buying large tracts of land for trinkets, traps, fire-arms, and rum. The descendants of these thrifty bargainers were the patroons of later days, against whom the anti-rent laws were aimed.

Satanstoe.[15]

The Chainbearer.[16]

The Redskins.[17]

The inherited privileges of the large landholders in the patroon-system, the gradual increase of the "durable lease"

[14] Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona.* Boston: Roberts Bros., 1884.

[15] James Fenimore Cooper, *Satanstoe.* New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co., 1845.

[16] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Chainbearer.* New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co., 1846.

[17] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Redskins.* New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co., 1846.

and the "three-lives lease," the growing discontent of the tenants at their inability to own the land their ancestors had in the beginning been unwilling to buy, the lawless outbreaks of the anti-renters against the landlords, and the final passing of the anti-rent laws in 1846, are chronicled as part of the history of three generations of the Littlepage family in *Satanstoe, The Chainbearer,* and *The Redskins,* covering the period from 1737-1846.

That an arraignment of the anti-rent laws, which Cooper considered unconstitutional because they affected the validity of contracts, was Cooper's purpose in writing the *Littlepage Series* he tells us in each of his prefaces, particularly in that to *The Redskins.*

In the preface to *Satanstoe,* Cooper says:

"We conceive no apology is necessary for treating the subject of anti-rent laws with the utmost frankness. . . . We conceive that true patriotism consists in laying bare everything like public vice."

The feelings of the injured landlord, for Cooper himself was by inheritance a large landholder and suffered directly from the anti-rent legislation, are more emphatically expressed in the preface to *The Redskins:*

"The Assembly in New York in its memorable session of 1846, has taxed the rents on long leases; thus not only taxing the same property twice, but imposing the worst sort of income-tax,—one aimed at a few individuals. It has enacted that on the death of a landlord, the tenant may convert his lease into a mortgage, on discharging which he shall hold his land in fee. . . .

"We deem the first of these measures far more tyrannical than the attempt of Great Britain to tax her colonies, which brought on the revolution. . . . This is not a tax for revenue, which is not needed; but a tax to 'choke off' the landlords, to use a common American phrase."

In *Satanstoe,* Cornelius Littlepage, the family chronicler for his generation, goes forth from Satanstoe, the family estate in

Manhattan, with his friend Dirck Van Valkenburgh, or Follock, as he is beginning to be called, to have surveyed their fathers' grant, owned in common, of forty thousand acres of land some distance from Albany. This land had been bought from the Indians the latter part of the seventeenth century for the following articles:

"Fifty blankets, each with yellow strings and yellow trimmings; ten iron pots, four gallons each; forty pounds of gunpowder; seven muskets; twelve pounds of small beads; ten strings of wampum; fifty gallons of rum, pure Jamaica, and of high proof; a score of jews-harps, and three dozen first quality English-made tomahawks."

The goods had cost, according to Dirck's memorandum, copied from his father's, ninety-six pounds, thirteen shillings, seven pence, three farthings; and this amount, plus the several hundred pounds of fees paid to the governor and his officers, represented the total expenditure of the owners for their forty thousand acres.

After Mooseridge, the Littlepage-Follock grant, was surveyed, the young men offered some of the land for sale, most of it for lease. No one bought, as all preferred a three-lives lease—a lease based on the life-time of any three persons the tenant wished to name—or a definite lease for thirty or forty years. The terms of a lease at Ravensnest, then the property of Mr. Mordaunt, but inherited by the Littlepages after the marriage of Annecke Mordaunt to Cornelius Littlepage, will serve as a sample. This lease, made to a certain Jason Newcome, whose descendants afterward become, in *The Redskins,* the most violent anti-renters, was a three-lives lease, plus twenty-one additional years, for five hundred acres with a mill-site. The first ten years there was to be no rent at all; for the next ten, six pence currency was to be paid for each acre, the tenant having the right to cut timber at will. For the remainder of the lease, a shilling an acre, or about six pence sterling, was to be paid for the land and forty pounds currency, for the mill-seat. The mill was to be taken by the landlord, at an appraisal "made

by men" at the expiration of the lease; the taxes were to be paid by the tenant. The Littlepages made no "durable leases" —a lease forever, at annual rent, with or without a redemption clause. In *The Redskins,* the "durable leases" of the Van Rensselaers are represented as the point of attack of the anti-rent legislation.

In the beginning, the tenants were content, naturally enough, thinking they were getting advantageous terms with no rent to pay for ten years and their extra money available for stocking their farms. Afterwards, when money was freer, and they realized the value of their labor, they wanted to own the work of their hands, in fact, thought they had a right to it, and objected, as feudal and undemocratic, to paying even "two fat fowls and a day's work"—the terms for some of the land.

The story proper of *The Chainbearer* takes place just after the Revolutionary War, in which not only Cornelius, but his father and young son Mordaunt, and the Chainbearer himself, Andries Coejemans, bear valiant parts. It is Mordaunt Littlepage, the family historian in his turn, who now goes to renew the leases at both Ravensnest, his own property, and Mooseridge, that of his father and "Uncle Dirck." After renewing all the old contracts and making new ones, he has eleven thousand acres under lease, divided among somewhat less than a hundred tenants, at a rental of a little more than $1742 a year. Though land was offered for sale at a dollar an acre, the lease was again preferred. It is this choice of the lease which forms one of the bases for Cooper's counter-attack on the anti-rent laws and for his oft-repeated statement throughout the *Series:* "No man in New York need ever have leased a farm, for want of an opportunity of purchasing."

With the help of the Chainbearer, who is described as "illiterate almost to greatness," Mordaunt Littlepage is getting the two estates into orderly shape and at the same time pushing his suit with Dus Malibone, the Chainbearer's niece, when he unluckily falls into the hands of the squatter "Thousand Acres," who is not only occupying without lease a large tract

of the Mooseridge acres, but has a mill set up and is cutting down timber at will. Called "Thousand Acres" because of his boast to occupy any thousand acres he has "a mind to," and of his frequent carrying out of the boast, Aaron Timberman is persistent in his belief of his right of possession of unoccupied land, and in his hatred of landholders and surveyors. Before the sheriff and his posse succeed in driving off the squatter's family and liberating Mordaunt Littlepage, both the Chainbearer and Thousand Acres are fatally shot.

It is interesting to note the Indian's—Susquesus's—inability to comprehend property rights as Mordaunt Littlepage tries to explain them to him. He cannot understand why one man should be allowed to possess so much more land than he can use, and another be not permitted to have where and what he wishes to occupy. Cooper inadvertently, despite his prejudices for large landholders, permits Susquesus to voice a great agrarian principle.

In *The Redskins,* lease-troubles break out all over New York, and the anti-renters, disguised as Redskins, give themselves up to mob-violence and to wanton destruction of the property of the landlords until the legislature passes laws permitting them to buy the land on which they and their ancestors had worked, in some cases, for a hundred years. At such length, indeed, is the problem of anti-rentism discussed that the action of the story is greatly impeded and *The Redskins,* therefore, is the poorest of the *Series* in plot. This time the heir of the Littlepage estates and the recorder of the family fortunes, Hugh Littlepage, a grandson of Mordaunt Littlepage and his wife Dus Malibone, is in Paris with his uncle when their agent writes that their presence is needed at home to look after their property. In order to learn the true state of affairs on the estates and who the ringleaders of the trouble are, and also to prevent any injudicious tar-and-feathering of their own persons, Hugh and his uncle return in disguise, as a German organ-grinder and a German pedlar, respectively, and mingle unrecognized among the tenants. After they have thrown off their

disguise and their presence has become known, an unsuccessful attempt is made to burn down the house at Ravensnest, and a barn is destroyed by fire. Strangely enough, these "Injins"—for so the disguised anti-renters are called—are not only routed by some real Indians, but are brought to see the error of their ways through hearing the life-story of Susquesus, the upright Onondago.

Cooper, in his efforts to defend large land-holding and long leases, often forgets himself and refutes his own arguments. He argues for the perpetual lease because it will make the tenant secure, and yet he says in *The Chainbearer:*

"A man must work for himself to do his most; and he cannot work for himself unless he enjoys the fruit of his labor."

At other times he is so sententiously conservative that he seems to be much more than a hundred years behind our day. In his preface to *The Redskins,* he thus incriminates himself:

"In point of fact, the relation of landlord and tenant is one entirely natural in a wealthy community and one that is so much in accordance with the necessities of men that no legislature can long prevent it. . . .

"A state of things which will not encourage the rich to hold real estate would not be desirable, since it would be diverting their knowledge, liberality, feelings, and leisure from the improvement of the soil to objects neither so useful nor so praiseworthy. . . .

"The notion that every husbandman is to be a freeholder is as Utopian in practice as it would be to expect that all men were to be on the same level in fortune, condition, education, and habits."

The fact that the protests of the rich and influential were ineffectual in preventing the passage of the anti-rent law indicated two steps in our economic progress: First, that the elements of disintegration were entering into the old caste society; second, that the people were finding their power in the vote.

The House of the Seven Gables.[18]

The breaking down of the aristocratic class is exhibited better, perhaps, in *The House of the Seven Gables,* by Nathaniel Hawthorne, than in any other American novel. Hawthorne, indeed, goes much further back than the time of the story proper—the second quarter of the nineteenth century—to date the beginning of his lesson in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He writes:

"Old Matthew Maule, in a word, was executed for the crime of witchcraft. He was one of the martyrs to that terrible delusion, which should teach us among other morals that the influential classes, and those who take upon themselves to be leaders of the people, are fully liable to all the passionate error that has characterized the maddest mob. Clergymen, judges, statesmen—the wisest, calmest, holiest persons of their day—stood in the inner circle round about the gallows, loudest to applaud the work of blood, latest to confess themselves miserably deceived" (p. 4).

The difference in point of view between Hepzibah Pyncheon, the kind-hearted, helpless, yet near-sightedly-scowling old maid, the representative of decaying New England gentry, who is bewailing her fate in having to earn her own living, and Holgrave, the new exponent of the thinking mass of humble extraction, is well illustrated:

Hepzibah: "But I am a woman! I was going to say a lady,—but I consider that as past."

Holgrave: "Well, no matter if it be past!" A strange gleam of sarcasm flashed through the kindness of his manner. "Let it go! You are the better without it. I look upon this as one of the fortunate days of your life. It ends an epoch and begins one. Hitherto, the life-blood has been gradually chilling in your veins, as you sat aloof in your circle of gentility, while

[18] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables.* Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1851; I have used the edition of 1896—Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

the rest of the world was fighting out its battle with one kind of necessity or another. Henceforth, you will at least have the sense of healthy and natural effort for a purpose of lending your strength—be it great or small—to the united struggle of mankind. These names of gentleman and lady had a meaning in the past history of the world and conferred privileges, desirable or otherwise on those entitled to bear them. In the present —and still more in the future condition of society—they imply not privileges, but restrictions" (p. 48).

A day or so after the opening of her shop, Hepzibah is horrified at her plebeian feelings, "she had to struggle against a bitter emotion—a sentiment of virulence towards the idle aristocracy, to which it had so recently been her pride to belong." The leaven of democracy had begun its work.

The sweet, happy disposition of Phoebe, the last of the Pyncheons, but a democratized edition, through her wholesome, humble-class mother, checkers the dark shadow of caste prejudice with the sunlight of a gentle, practical democracy until finally, after the death of the judge and her marriage to Holgrave, who is really a Maule, the darkness is driven away entirely.

The House of the Seven Gables is one of the great novels in the list of the fiction of democracy. It, together with *The Rise of Silas Lapham,* is not only an embodiment of the true American spirit, but is a model of literary craftsmanship as well.

The Blithedale Romance.[19]

A history of the Brook Farm experiment, 1841-1847, in communism is preserved in the pages of Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance.* The members of Brook Farm, of whom Hawthorne was one for a time, hoped that by co-operation in a community life, bodily labor for a portion of the day and intellectual pur-

[19] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Blithedale Romance.* Boston: Houghton, 1852. I have used the edition of 1899—New York and Boston: Thos. Y. Crowell & Co.

suits for the remainder would prove not only enjoyable but sufficiently profitable for the average person. It was an attempt to work out practically a problem in economics according to rules laid down, principally, by Rousseau and Fourier.

Hawthorne expresses himself first as the hopeful theorist; then as the doleful practitioner:

"We had left the rusty iron frame work of society behind us. . . . We had stept down from the pulpit; we had flung aside the pen; we had shut up the ledger. . . . It was our purpose to give up whatever we had hitherto attained, for the sake of showing mankind the example of a life governed by other than the false and cruel principles on which human society has all along been based.

"And first of all we had divorced ourselves from pride and were striving to supply its place with familiar love. We meant to lessen the laboring man's great burthen of toil by performing our due share of it at the cost of our own thews and sinews. We sought our profit by mutual aid, instead of wresting it by the strong hand from an enemy, or filching it craftily from those less shrewd than ourselves, or winning it by selfish competition with a neighbor" (pp. 17-18).

While lying in a fever, however, brought on by exposure to the elements, "the general chill of the airy old farmhouse, and a fireless chamber," Hawthorne longingly contrasts his former comfortable life, "his pleasant bachelor parlor, sunny and shadowy," his day of writing, reading, and walking, and his dinner at the Albion with "a hundred dishes at command," with his present arduous existence and poor fare:

"Was it better to hoe, to mow, to toil and moil amidst the accumulations of a barnyard; to be the chambermaid of two yoke of oxen and a dozen cows; to eat salt beef and earn it with the sweat of my brow, and thereby take the tough morsel out of some wretch's mouth, into whose vocation I had thrust myself? Above all, was it better to have a fever and die blaspheming as I was like to do?" (p. 42).

The failure of the project from a literary man's point of view is still further humorously expatiated upon:

" While our enterprise lay all in theory, we had pleased ourselves with delectable visions of the spiritualization of labor. . . . Each stroke of the hoe was to uncover some aromatic root of wisdom, heretofore hidden from the sun. . . . The clods of earth we so constantly belabored and turned over and over were never etherealized into thought. Our thoughts, on the contrary, were fast becoming cloddish. Our labor symbolized nothing and left us mentally sluggish in the dusk of the evening. Intellectual activity is incompatible with any large amount of bodily exercise" (p. 71).

The mystery of the relationship of Zenobia, the magnificent and beautiful, to Priscilla, the frail and lovely, their love for the same man, Hollingsworth, and Zenobia's tragic end constitute the theme of the romance.

After the Revolutionary War was fought and won, men were satisfied with the political independence they had achieved, and feared unlimited democracy for the New Republic. Hence, a satirical attitude toward self-government developed. The War of 1812, the threatened war with France, the Indian wars of that time, all fostered the strong central government where power was concentrated, however, not in the chief executive, the President, but in Congress.

What was almost a legislative aristocracy was swept away when the West ushered in its military hero and popular idol, Andrew Jackson, and class distinction began to crumble. The feeling of the superiority of our own republic over like States abroad, was expressed in criticism of injustice in Venice and Switzerland. When the Indian ceased to be much of a menace, remorse attacked the national conscience. After eulogizing its more-than-two-century enemy, the nation assumed, to a certain extent, its liability to the Red Men. The maintenance of aristocratic privileges by large land holders was condemned legally, and the less vigorous members of the favored class suffered a gradual decay. And last, far-seeing men,

thoughtful leaders, scented the beginning of the long struggle for economic equality in the pressure of economic evils and hopefully tried out their little experiment.

At the same time that American civilization had reached an epoch of leisure in the East, it suffered a demolition in the West under the pressure of the rush for gold to California and the picturesque adventures of the forty-niners. Stewart Edward White in his three books forming the epic of California, tells the romantic story how order leaped out of disorder, how justice subverted corrupt law, and, finally, how Yankee enterprise divided the almost feudal estates into profitable ranches and banished Spanish apathy and Southern wastefulness, simultaneously, though not without the cost of quaint and colorful customs.

Gold.[20] *The Gray Dawn.*[21]
The Rose Dawn.[22]

In *Gold* is depicted the frantic rush, by way of Panama and San Francisco to the El Dorado land. The men were so busy at first scraping and digging that there was little need of anything but the prompt, if somewhat erratic miner's law. There was little stealing except by the Mexicans and Indians. In a few months, however, when fortunes were literally made in a day and the gambling fever was at its height and the world's riffraff was unloaded in California, this primitive honesty disappeared, and with it, the gold and lives of many. Organized bands of cut-throats and robbers even made camps their headquarters and went from place to place without being overtaken by the laws. At last, when the desperadoes seemed to be having everything their own way, stealing cattle and killing men at will, and even making a pretence at law themselves by electing

[20] Stewart Edward White, *Gold*, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1913.
[21] Stewart Edward White, *The Grey Dawn*, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1915.
[22] Stewart Edward White, *The Rose Dawn*, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1920.

one of their members sheriff, the good men of Sonoma met together and the Vigilantes were organized. The hanging of five of the cut-throats in full view of all their confederates, as well as of the rest of the populace, had the desired effect on the outlaws. Moreover, the membership of the Vigilantes grew from thirty to four hundred. In Mr. White's words, "the community had found itself, and was no longer afraid."

After having half their gold stolen from them, having joined the Vigilantes and having helped to bring order to the bandit-ridden community, the three "forty-niners," heroes of *Gold*, returned to San Francisco to their partner Talbot Ward, who had preferred the fascination of the booming business and real estate activities there to the excitement of digging gold. While the three had accumulated together about ten thousand dollars only, Talbot Ward had stretched his capital of a few hundred dollars, plus the five thousand that his partners had sent him to invest, to seven hundred thousand dollars, mostly in options, equities, and properties. But all this was consumed by the fire which raged in San Francisco a few days after the re-union of the partners. A new start, by slower, steadier means is begun by the four at the end of the book. The men characters in the book—the two or three women play only incidental parts, and are dismissed in an evening or killed off in a month or two—are strongly visualized and add a whole host to the art gallery of American literature: Johnny Fairfax, one of the partners, afterward called Diamond Jack, the young Southern fire-eater who in his absolute fearlessness proves a match for the most hardened of the desperadoes; Danny Randall, the "square gambler," who in his fair effeminateness of appearance belies deadly courage and strong personality and leadership; Yank, another of the four, whose shrewdness and practical common-sense help the party in many ways; Bagsby, a trapper, whose woodcraft and knowledge of men make secure their stay in the hills; Talbot Ward, the third of the partners, whose business acumen enabled him in a half hour to sell a bundle of old newspapers for two

hundred and seventy dollars—before the boat came in bringing more up-to-date news; and Pine, who smacks of the earlier pioneer squatters, with his six stalwart sons.

The subversion of the law for the sake of justice is dramatically enacted in *The Gray Dawn* by three thousand Vigilantes after two bold murders had been perpetrated on two prominent citizens, the United States Marshal and the fearless editor of an independent paper, in the streets of San Francisco. Cora, the Italian gambler who had killed the Federal Marshal on a pretext of insinuations about his inamorata, had failed of conviction in the courts; Casey, the murderer of King, the editor, was comfortably installed in the prison with no fear of conviction. The scene in which the Vigilantes march to the prison and take the prisoners is tensely dramatic; that in which the murderers are hanged, at the moment the funeral cortege of their victim begins its march, is even more impressive:

"At the door of the sanctuary was visible a slight commotion: the coffin was being carried out. It was placed in the hearse. Every head was bared. There ensued a slight pause. Then from overhead the great bell boomed once. Another bell in the next block answered. A third more distant chimed in. From all parts of the city tolled the solemn requiem. At the first stroke, the long cortege (two miles long) moved forward toward Lone Mountain; at the first stroke, the Vigilantes, as one man, presented arms; at the first stroke the platforms dropped, and Casey and Cora fell into the abyss of eternity" (p. 332).

"The execution occasioned a great storm of indignation among the adherents of law and order. Serious-minded men admitted the essential justice rendered, but condemned strongly the method. Nevertheless, the Vigilantes increased their number to seven thousand and continued their good work by arresting some wrong doers and banishing others. Trials were conducted according to law, and justice was meted out impartially. Not until the city had become safe, did the Vigilantes adjourn" (p. 333).

Among the Vigilantes are three of the characters of *Gold:* Johnny Fairfax, Talbot Ward, and Frank Monroe, the fourth of the partners. They do not play conspicuous parts, however, in *The Gray Dawn,* of which Milton Keith, a young lawyer from the East, is the hero. The story begins in the year 1852, and continues for several years. It takes place entirely in San Francisco.

As *The Gray Dawn* is the strongest of the California series, so is *The Rose Dawn* the most picturesque, the most idyllic, though, also, the least dramatic. The fight for law and order, in '49, dominates *Gold;* Justice struggles for mastery over political corruption five years later, in *The Gray Dawn;* and, in *The Rose Dawn,* Yankee shrewdness overcomes Spanish apathy and Southern prodigality in the eighties. So alluring is the charm of Cathedral Oaks, the estate of Colonel Richard Peyton, so fascinating his annual barbecue, and the survival of old Spanish customs, that one's sympathy is heartily with the old-timers in all their wasteful occupation of vast estates. Though one realizes the menace of large tracts of unimproved land and the necessity for small homesteads for general prosperity, one regrets the passing of the old order.

The women characters of *The Rose Dawn* show a much better understanding of women than those of Mr. White's other novels: "Aunt Allie," Colonel Peyton's wife, rises to the emergency of economizing far more efficiently than the Colonel; the Spanish "Dona Cazadero and her amiable daughter are almost exact replicas inside their pretty, rather silly heads and their capacious and very warm breasts. They possessed, also, the same low horsepower in energy and high voltage in pride of family and race. They dwelt in wrappers and hammocks all the early part of the day, but came forth nobly every afternoon for a stately drive to town in the victoria" (p. 75). And Daphne Brainerd, the daughter of the widower "lunger" and the protegé of the Colonel and his wife, develops from a fanciful, oddly-poised child, with her "sympathetic tree," to clear-sighted, loyal womanhood that links successfully the old order

of Colonel Peyton with the new order of Kenneth Boyd and his father.

Sing Toy, the Colonel's Chinese servant of many years, in his comical domination of the household, as well as his unswerving devotion to the family, is a distinct addition to the portrait gallery of American fiction.

The rumblings of the Civil War, audible in even the early part of the nineteenth century, will be echoed in the next chapter—that of the Civil War period.

Conclusion

In conclusion I shall summarize the individual contribution of each novel of these three chapters to the record in fiction of the growth of democracy in America. The Divine Right of Kings is the doctrine, more or less questioned, which influences the action of *To Have and to Hold,* laid in the early settlement of Virginia, at Jamestown. In *Prisoners of Hope,* an insurrection is planned, a little later, by the indentured white slaves, to found a Cromwellian commonwealth on the shores of the Chesapeake. In *The Cavaliers of Virginia,* Bacon leads a revolt against the tyranny of the royal governor and is himself a victim of both political and class oppression. The communism of the Puritans, the witchcraft delusion, and Roger Williams's arraignment of the theocratic government of Massachusetts and his appeal for religious freedom are detailed, respectively, in *Standish of Standish, The Coast of Freedom,* and *Mistress Content Craddock.* In both *The Buccaneers* and *Barnaby Lee* the colonists of New York are represented as belated followers of liberty, belated because of a reluctance to physical activity and an eagerness for material prosperity. Moreover, the resultant inequality of wealth becomes, in *The Buccaneers,* an impediment to democratic progress. Maryland's difficulties with Claiborne, because of the king's carelessness in making out royal patents, the Assembly's struggle for rights from the royal

governors, the charter's discrimination against women, and the maintenance of religious equality, despite pressure from England and plots at home, are presented in *Mistress Brent* and *Rob of the Bowl.* In *The Carolinians,* the rebellion of the colonists of Carolina against the Lords Proprietors for their negligence in not protecting the province against the depredations of the pirates, the Indians, the French, and the Spanish is enacted. Georgia's philanthropic founding for the oppressed of the world, the agrarian division of Savannah into equal little homesteads, and the prohibition not only of slaves, but even of negro labor, are explained in *Doris Kingsley.* The Colonial Period in fiction then closes with the Divine Right of Kings almost forgotten, with the hierarchy of royal governors resisted, with colonial assemblies active, and with the people alert to any infringement of their liberties.

This alertness was fostered in Virginia by Patrick Henry, particularly, who, with Charles Waters, is the moving political spirit of both *The Virginia Comedians* and *Bonnybel Vane,* which show the growing irritation against England's tyranny. In *The Rebels,* Samuel Adams and James Otis father the Revolution in Massachusetts. The patriotism of America's "yeomanry," in contrast to the hostile or neutral attitude of the Tory element and the insolence and rapacity of some of the English officers, is lauded by the revolutionary veteran, Captain Murgatroyd, in *The Refugee.* The hardy independence of the Green Mountain boys, under Ethan Allen, both in the little battles for their border-line with the Yorkers and in the greater victories at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, is recorded in *The Green Mountain Boys.* The toll of liberty in the suffering of the patriots during the Revolution is realistically depicted in *The Linwoods.* Criticism of the conduct of the war and a fear of too much centralized power, even in Washington's hands, is expressed in *Seventy-Six.* Political division among the colonists in South Carolina and social dissension among the patriots themselves account, in *The Partisan,* for the British capture of Charlestown and their victory at

Camden. The Revolutionary Period in fiction, while it reflects mainly the intense patriotism of the struggle for independence, reveals, also, the tendency toward a centralization of power and a growing consciousness of the dangers of economic and social inequality.

The reaction from the intense patriotism of the Revolution is displayed in *Modern Chivalry,* which satirizes the political, religious, and educational institutions of the New Republic. Great Britain's persistence in the over-lordship of the seas and our second war of independence are mirrored in *A Herald of the West.* The entrance of the West, under the leadership of Andrew Jackson, into American politics, the downfall of the legislative aristocracy, and Jackson's inauguration of rotation in office are narrated in *The Patience of John Morland.* Political oppression in Venice and Berne is exposed in *The Bravo* and *The Headsman,* respectively. The nation's treatment of the Indian is traced over the continent: from Massachusetts, in *Hope Leslie;* to Carolina, in *The Yemassee;* to New York and the Middle West, in Cooper's *Leather Stocking Series—The Deerslayer, The Last of the Mohicans, The Pathfinder, The Pioneers,* and *The Prairie;* to Kentucky, in *Nick of the Woods;* and finally, to California, in *Ramona.* The evils of the patroon system are chronicled in the *Littlepage Series—Satanstoe, The Chainbearer,* and *The Redskins.* The breaking down of New England gentry is pictured in *The House of the Seven Gables,* and the Brook Farm experiment in communism is described in *The Blithedale Romance.* The evolution of California from the miners' El Dorado, through civic throes to law and order and justice; and from extensive estates to small homesteads is traced in *Gold, The Gray Dawn,* and *The Rose Dawn,* respectively. In the novels embracing the period of the New Republic, is related the story of the making of a nation—apart from the question of slavery, which will be considered later with the involved states-rights doctrine. The amusement of the youthful nation at its own experiments in democracy, its strong defense of its newly-won political free-

dom, the West's making the voice of the people heard in the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency, the awakening of the national conscience to injustice abroad and at home, the decay of the old gentry and the downfall of its ideals, an experiment in economic levelling and the settling of California in the stampede of the "Forty-Niners" are unfolded in the works of this period.

If a "resurrection of the spirit of the time" has been the aim of two noted French historians, M. Michelet and August Thierry, the same privilege, through the medium of the novel, may be granted a student of literature. Since the novel is avowedly my medium, and neither history nor philosophy, any expression of either, not contained in the novels discussed, has been purposely eliminated. Moreover, restraint has been exercised even in classifying, much less dissecting, the philosophical tenets expressed. My aim has been to make the progress of democracy self-evident so far as the American novel could make it so, but no further. Needless to say, the scaffolding of American history was first necessary.

APPENDIX

ONE HUNDRED NOVELS OF DEMOCRACY ARRANGED SO AS TO SHOW THE PROGRESSION OF DEMOCRATIC IDEAS IN THE UNITED STATES

I. Colonial Period.

VIRGINIA.

1. *To Have and to Hold* by Mary Johnston. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899.
2. *Prisoners of Hope* by Mary Johnston. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898.
3. *The Cavaliers of Virginia* by Wm. A. Caruthers. London: Printed for A. K. Newman & Co., 1837. First Edition 1832(?).

MASSACHUSETTS.

4. *Standish of Standish* by Jane Austin. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1889.
5. *The Coast of Freedom* by Adele Marie Shaw and Albert J. Shaw. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902.
6. *Mistress Content Craddock* by Annie E. Trumbull. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1899.

NEW YORK.

7. *The Buccaneers* by Samuel Benjamin Herbert Judah. Boston: Munroe & Francis; New York: C. S. Francis, 1827.
8. *Barnaby Lee* by John Bennett. New York: The Century Company, 1902.

MARYLAND.

9. *Mistress Brent* by Lucy M. Thurston. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1901.
10. *Rob of the Bowl* by John P. Kennedy. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1838.

CONNECTICUT.

11. *The Romance of the Charter Oak* by William Seton. New York: P. O'Shea, 1871.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

12. *The Carolinians* by Annie Lee Sloan. New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Co., 1904.

GEORGIA.

13. *Doris Kingsley* by Emma Rayner. New York: G. W. Dillingham, 1901.

II. The Revolutionary Period.

14. *The Virginia Comedians* by John Esten Cooke. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854.
15. *Bonnybel Vane or Henry St. John, Gentleman* by John Esten Cooke. New York: Harper & Bros., 1859.
16. *The Rebels* by Lydia Maria Child. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1825.
17. *The Refugee* by Captain Matthew Murgatroyd. New York: Wilder & Campbell, 1825.
18. *The Green Mountain Boys* by Daniel P. Thompson. Montpelier: E. P. Walton, 1839.
19. *The Linwoods* by Catherine Maria Sedgwick. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835.
20. *Seventy-Six* by John Neal. Baltimore: J. Robinson; Frederick, Md.: J. Robinson & Co., 1823.
21. *The Partisan* by Wm. Gilmore Simms. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835.

III. The New Republic.

22. *Modern Chivalry* by Hugh Brackenridge. Published in parts, 1792, 1792, 1793, 1797, 1804, 1805. Philadelphia: Getz & Buck, 1851. For other editions, see *Cambridge History of American Literature*, Vol. I, p. 526.
23. *A Herald of the West* by Joseph A. Altsheler. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898.
24. *The Patience of John Morland* by Mary Dillon. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909.

OPPRESSION ABROAD.

25. *The Bravo* by James Fenimore Cooper. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1831.
26. *The Headsman* by James Fenimore Cooper. London: R. Bentley, 1833.

THE INDIAN.

27. *Hope Leslie* by Catherine M. Sedgwick. New York: White, Galliher & White, 1827.
28. *The Yemassee* by Wm. Gilmore Simms. New York: Harper & Bros., 1835.
29. *The Deerslayer* by James Fenimore Cooper. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1841.
30. *The Last of the Mohicans* by James Fenimore Cooper. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1926.
31. *The Pathfinder* by James Fenimore Cooper. London: R. Bentley, 1840.
32. *The Pioneers* by James Fenimore Cooper. New York: C. Wiley, 1823.

33. *The Prairie* by James Fenimore Cooper. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1827.
34. *Nick of the Woods* by Robert Montgomery Bird. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1837.
35. *Ramona* by Helen Hunt Jackson. Boston: Roberts Bros., 1884.

ANTI-RENT AGITATION.

36. *Satanstoe* by James Fenimore Cooper. New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co., 1845.
37. *The Chainbearer* by James Fenimore Cooper. New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co., 1846.
38. *The Redskins* by James Fenimore Cooper. New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co., 1846.

DECAY OF GENTRY.

39. *The House of the Seven Gables* by Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1851.

COMMUNISM EXPERIMENT.

40. *The Blithedale Romance* by Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston: Houghton, 1852.

SETTLING OF CALIFORNIA AND LAW-AND-ORDER PROBLEMS.

41. *Gold* by Stewart Edward White. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1913.
42. *The Gray Dawn* by Stewart Edward White. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1915.
43. *The Rose Dawn* by Stewart Edward White. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1920.

IV. CIVIL-WAR PERIOD.

SLAVERY AND STATE-RIGHTS.

44. *The Algerine Captive, or the Life and Adventures of Dr. Updyke Underhill, Six Years a Prisoner among the Algerines* by Royal Tyler. Walpole, Vermont: 1797; London: G. and J. Robinson, Printers, 1802.
45. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co.; Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor & Worthington, 1852.
46. *The Partisan Leader: a Novel and an Apocalypse of the Origin and Struggle of the Southern Confederacy* by Nathaniel Beverley Tucker. Secretly printed in 1836. Republished, Richmond: West & Johnston, 1862.
47. *The Son of Destiny* by Mary Francis. New York: The Federal Book Company, 1902.
48. *Diane. A Romance of the Icarian Settlement on the Mississippi River* by Katherine Holland Brown. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904.

WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION.

49. *Manassas* by Upton Sinclair. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904.
50. *The Red Badge of Courage* by Stephen Crane. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1895.
51. *The Long Roll* by Mary Johnston. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co.
52. *The Crisis* by Winston Churchill. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901.
53. *The Clansman* by Thomas Dixon. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905.
54. *A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools* by Albion W. Tourgée. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulburt, 1879.

V. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

SATIRICAL.

Modern Chivalry by Hugh Brackenridge. 1792-1805. Philadelphia: Getz & Buck, 1851.

55. *The Innocents Abroad*[1] by Samuel Clemens. Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1869.
56. *The Gilded Age* by Samuel Clemens and Charles Dudley Warner. Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1873.
57. *The Prince and the Pauper* by Samuel Clemens. London: Chatto & Windus, 1882.
58. *The Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court* by Samuel Clemens. New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1889.
59. *A Traveller from Altruria* by Wm. Dean Howells. New York: Harper & Bros., 1894.
60. *Through the Eye of a Needle* by Wm. Dean Howells. New York: Harper & Bros., 1907.

SOCIAL.

The House of the Seven Gables by Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1851.

61. *The Hoosier School-Master* by Edward Eggleston. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1883. First edition, 1871.
62. *The Rise of Silas Lapham* by William Dean Howells. Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1885.
63. *Certain People of Importance* by Kathleen Norris. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1922.
64. *The Voice of the People* by Thomas Nelson Page. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1900.

[1] "If confessed mendacity playing around facts can transform them into fiction . . . *Innocents Abroad* approaches the novel."—*The American Novel* by Carl van Doren, p. 164.

65. *The House of Mirth* by Edith Wharton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.
66. *Babbitt* by Sinclair Lewis. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922.

POLITICAL.

67. *Five Hundred Majority or the Days of Tammany* by John Hume Ferguson [Wyllis Niles, *pseud.*] New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1872.
68. *Coniston* by Winston Churchill. New York and Boston: The Macmillan Co., 1906.
69. *Democracy* by Henry Adams. Also attributed to John Hay and Clarence King. New York: Henry Holt, 1880.
70. *The Honorable Peter Stirling* by Paul Leicester Ford. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1894.
71. *John Marvel, Assistant* by Thomas Nelson Page. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1909.

ECONOMIC.

72. *The Silent Partner* by Elizabeth S. Phelps Ward. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co., 1871.
73. *Nicholas Minturn* by J. G. Holland. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1876.
74. *The Octopus* by Frank Norris. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901.
75. *The Pit* by Frank Norris. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1903.
76. *The Man of the Hour* by Alice French [Octave Thanet, *pseud.*]. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1905.
77. *A Certain Rich Man* by William Allen White. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1909. Also, 1923 edition for school use, edited by Mildred B. Flagg.
78. *The Rules of the Game* by Stewart Edward White. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910.
79. *The Financier* by Theodore Dreiser. New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1912.
80. *V. V.'s Eyes* by Henry Sydnor Harrison. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1913.
81. *Clark's Field* by Robert Herrick. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1914.
82. *King Coal* by Upton Sinclair. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917.
83. *The Desert of Wheat* by Zane Grey. New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1919.

FEMINIST.

84. *The Female Review, Memoirs of an American Young Lady, Whose Life and Character Are Peculiarly Distinguished—Being a Con-*

tinental Soldier for Nearly Three Years, in the late American War by a Citizen of Massachusetts, Herman Mann. Dedham: Printed by Nathaniel and Benjamin Heaton for the author, 1797.

85. *The Female American or the Extraordinary Adventures of Unca Eliza Winkfield* Compiled by Herself. (17—?) Newburyport, n. d. Vergennes, Vt., 1814.
86. *True Womanhood* by John Neal. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1859.
87. *Dr. Breen's Practice* by Wm. Dean Howells. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1881.
88. *Julia France and Her Times* by Gertrude Atherton. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912.
89. *Hagar* by Mary Johnston. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1913.
90. *Virginia* by Ellen Glasgow. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1913.

IMMIGRANT.

91. *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1906.
92. *Comrade Yetta* by Arthur Bullard [Albert Edwards, *pseud.*]. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1913.
93. *The Rise of David Levinsky* by Abraham Cahan. New York: Harper & Bros., 1917.

SOCIALIST.

94. *Looking Backward* by Edward Bellamy. Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1888.
95. *Equality and Brotherhood* by Edward Bellamy. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1897.
96. *The Iron Heel* by Jack London. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1907.
97. *Comrades*, A Story of a Social Adventure in California 1898-1901 by Thomas Dixon. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909.
98. *The Bomb* by Frank Harris. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1909.
99. *The Harbor* by Ernest Poole. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1915.
100. *The Seventh Angel* by Alexander Black. New York: Harper & Bros., 1921.

VITA

I was born in Baltimore in 1877, and received my early education there, in public and private schools, graduating from the Girls' Latin School in 1895. I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Cornell University in 1906; that of Master of Arts, from Johns Hopkins University in 1913. I published *Thoughts from Carlyle* in 1908, and have since contributed eight articles to educational and popular magazines. I taught in the elementary and secondary schools of Baltimore until June 1913; since then I have been a teacher of English in the high schools of Washington, D. C., where I have been a member of the faculty of Central High School for the last seven years.